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MORE'S UTOPIA

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Sir Thomas More
from the painting by Holbein
in the possession of Edward Huth Esq.

THE UTOPIA OF SIR THOMAS MORE

RALPH ROBINSON'S TRANSLATION
WITH ROPER'S LIFE OF MORE
AND SOME OF HIS LETTERS

EDITED BY

GEORGE SAMPSON

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND BIBLIOGRAPHY BY

A. GUTHKELCH

TO WHICH IS ADDED THE LATIN TEXT OF THE UTOPIA
REPRINTED FROM THE FIRST EDITION

LONDON
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1910

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NOTE

MORE'S *Utopia* was first published in 1516 at Louvain. A second edition was issued in the following year at Paris, and a third in 1518 at Basel, from the press of Froben. No English translation appeared till 1551, when Ralph Robinson's version was published ; and this, five years later, was issued in a second edition, with revised text and marginal notes. In the present reprint the text of 1556 has been strictly followed, but a restoration has been made of the translator's dedicatory epistle, found only in the version of 1551. From the Basel edition two illustrations by Ambrose Holbein have been taken, namely, the garden scene on p. 21, showing John Clement, Hythloday, More, and Peter Giles discoursing, and the map of Utopia on p. 80. By a curious error, the words Fons Anydri and Ostium Anydri are reversed in the original map of the island, but this has been corrected here. The Utopian alphabet and the stanza in the Utopian language on p. 200 have also been reproduced from the 1518 edition.

The Life of More, here appended to the *Utopia*, was written in the latter half of the sixteenth century by his son-in-law, William Roper (1496–1578), husband of the incomparable Margaret. It was not published,

but circulated in manuscript copies, not always accurately made, and one of these was committed to print in 1626 by one T. P., who called it *The Mirrour of Vertue in Worldly Greatnes, or the Life of Syr Thomas More Knight, sometime Lo. Chancellor of England.* The title page is dated from Paris, but the little volume was probably produced in England. The manuscript from which T. P. printed was extremely defective, and in 1716 Thomas Hearne issued a new edition from another copy, which, however, was almost as faulty as T. P.'s. The next editor was the Rev. John Lewis, who in 1729 produced, and in 1731 reissued, a much better version, to which he added a selection of More's letters, referred to by Roper at two places in the Life. The Rev. S. W. Singer next took the little work in hand, and published a good version in a limited edition in 1817, and a cheaper and better one in 1822, though unfortunately with the spelling modernized. Singer was its last editor, for succeeding reprints have produced the texts of 1822 either exactly or with unimportant changes of punctuation. The present version is not derived from any former edition. It has been prepared by Mr. George Sampson, who has collated the four manuscripts in the British Museum (Harley, 6362, 6254, 6166, and 7030). The first and second, both written in a sixteenth-century hand, have been taken as the main authorities and compared with 6166 and 7030, the latter of which is a copy of an old manuscript at Cambridge. The text thus obtained differs from Singer's only in matters of detail, and so it is safe to assume that the Life has at last attained its final form. After the words "Madam, my lord is gone," p. 238, Lewis

prints in brackets, and without stating the source, a passage containing further conversation between More and his family. Singer reproduces the lines apologetically, and says he can find no authority for them ; and as there is not the least trace of this passage in any of the manuscripts consulted for this edition, and as, moreover, the passage is rather foolish, and quite out of keeping with the rest of the Life, it is accordingly omitted from the present edition. From Rastell's black-letter folio of More's English Works (1557), certain letters have been chosen as a fitting complement to the Life, the selection being limited to such letters as passed between More and his family.

The present volume is based on the folio printed in the " Chiswick Library of Noble Writers " in 1903, from which the above paragraphs are taken. The text has, however, again been carefully collated by Mr. George Sampson, who has added footnotes throughout. The general introduction to the volume has been written by Mr. A. Guthkelch, who is also responsible for the bibliography and the reprint of the Latin text of *Utopia*. The bibliography has been compiled from the Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum ; the bibliography appended to the life of Sir Thomas More, by Dr. Sidney Lee, in the Dictionary of National Biography ; the bibliography in the edition of the Latin text edited by Michels and Ziegler ; the preface to Father Bridgett's *Blessed Thomas More ;* the catalogue of the Alfred Cock Memorial collection in the Guildhall Library, London ; and the bibliographies to Chapters I. and II. of the third volume of the Cambridge History of English Literature.

The bibliography is not intended to be exhaustive, though it is considerably fuller than any of its predecessors. As a rule, the first edition of each book is recorded, and if it exists, a modern reprint. Other editions are mentioned if they have some particular interest. The translations of *Utopia* recorded are those to be found in the Library of the British Museum.

A note on the reprint of the Latin text will be found at p. 336.

Mr. Guthkelch wishes to express his thanks to the Rev. J. P. Whitney, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in King's College, London, for his kindness in reading the proofs of the Introduction to the volume: and to the Rev. W. H. Hutton, for his kindness in reading the proofs of the Bibliography.

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INTRODUCTION

I

The Life of Sir Thomas More

(*a*) (1478–1509)

THOMAS MORE was born between the second and third hours of the morning, on Saturday, February 7, 1478. His father, John More, had married Agnes, daughter of Thomas Graunger, on April 24, 1474. Their first child was a daughter, Jane; Thomas was the second. Of the four children who followed, it seems that only one, Elizabeth (born in 1482), lived beyond infancy. John More, the father, became a Sergeant-at-law of Lincoln's Inn in 1503; was appointed a judge in the Court of Common Pleas in November, 1517, and was raised to the King's Bench in April, 1520. Swift made his Bookseller say in 1704, "as dedications have run for some years past, a good historian will not be apt to have recourse thither in search of characters." The same remark applies to epitaphs; but what Thomas More said of his father cannot be disregarded. In the epitaph which he drew up for his own tomb, he said that his father was a man courteous, affable, innocent, gentle, merciful, just, and uncorrupted.

When More was born his father was living in Milk Street, Cheapside; and More's boyhood must have been passed there. He was sent to St. Anthony's School, in

Threadneedle Street, and there learned his Latin grammar. The headmaster was Nicholas Holt. In 1491, at the age of thirteen, he was received into the household of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury. More's memories of his patron's household are preserved for us in Book I. of *Utopia*. He was a precocious child, "in whose wytt and *towardnes* the Cardinall much delightinge, woulde often saye of him, unto the nobles that diverse tymes dined with him, This childe here waytinge at the table, whosoever shall lyve to see yt, will prove a marveylous manne." More remained with Morton for about a year, and then (in 1492) he was sent to Oxford. It appears that he was a member of Canterbury Hall, a college afterwards absorbed in Wolsey's Christ Church. His father gave him money only for absolute necessities. He had no pocket-money; he could not even afford to have his shoes mended without applying to his father—at least, that is the story. His father certainly was a poor man, and one may be certain that if More ever had a coin to spare, he would spend it not on mending his shoes, but in buying one of those "bokes clad in blak or red" that another Clerk of Oxenford delighted in. In any case, he read hard, particularly in Greek (*interpretante Linacro*), Latin, and history. He was also interested in music, and learned to play the viol as well as the flute. With or without money, such a boy must have been happy in Oxford. But his father wished him to become a lawyer, and in 1494 he was placed at New Inn, an Inn of Chancery dependent on Lincoln's Inn. Two years later (in 1496) he was transferred to Lincoln's Inn. As a lawyer, he soon acquired a reputation, and was appointed a "reader," that is, "lecturer," at Furnivall's Inn, "soe remayninge the space of three yeeres and more." At about the same time, he gave a series of lectures at St. Lawrence Jewry, on the *De Civitate Dei* of St. Augustine. Unhappily, nothing remains of these lectures; but

reminiscences of St. Augustine's book have been traced in *Utopia*. More was called to the Bar in 1501.

In 1499 Erasmus came to England on a visit to his pupil, Lord Mountjoy, and then made the acquaintance of More. The two were soon the closest of friends; they were united not only by their love of classical literature, but also by the likeness of their characters—their love of truth, their hatred of all shams and hypocrisies, their kindliness; above all, perhaps, by the possession of that kind of humour which pierces to the reality lying beneath the pomps and shows of the world. Although he was an accomplished lawyer, More was long doubtful what was his true vocation. During four years (apparently from 1499 to 1503) he lived, without vow, in the Charterhouse. But he found that he was not one of those for whom a monastery affords a safe retreat from the world, nor one who could take up the profession of priest. "The one thing that prevented him from giving himself to that kind of life was that he could not shake off the desire of the married state."

In 1504 he became a member of Parliament, for what constituency is unknown, and at once showed his honesty and courage by objecting to the King's demands for money. As the result of his opposition the grant was reduced from £113,000 to £30,000. The King took revenge by fining More's father £100. For the time the son escaped, but it has been supposed that his journey on the Continent (to Louvain and Paris) in 1508 was undertaken to escape the anger of Henry VII.

Meanwhile, in 1505, More had married Jane Colte, of Newhall, in Essex. The story of his courtship must be read in Roper's Life. His wife was very young, "with a mind somewhat uncultivated," says Erasmus; but her husband had her instructed in literature and music, and he evidently regarded her with deep affection.

At his marriage he went to live in Bucklersbury, "sweet-smelling," as Falstaff tells us, "in simple-time." His wife bore him four children: Margaret, Elizabeth, Cecily, John—a musical sequence of names.

In 1508 Erasmus came on another visit to England, and wrote in More's house his *Encomium Moriæ*—the *Praise of Folly.*

With the accession of Henry VIII. (April 21, 1509), it seemed to many, both in England and abroad, that a new era had begun. Time, they thought, would run back, and fetch the age of gold. The new King was deep in the New Learning, and seemed likely to prove such a philosopher-king as Plato might have wished to see. For men like More, encouragement in their studies, and advancement in the State, seemed certain.

More had already produced a number of literary works. The earliest seems to be the poem entitled *A merry jest: how a Sergeant would learn to play the friar.* The humour is elementary—

> "The friar's hood
> They pulled a good
> Adown about his face
> While he was blind
> The wench, behind,
> Lent him, laid on the floor,
> Many a joule
> About the noule,
> With a great battledore."

One can easily believe that More wrote this, as Rastell says, in his youth.

To a somewhat later period belong his verses on Lady Fortune, part of which remind one of the *Monk's Tale.* The verses written for "a goodly hanging with nine pageants" are like Orlando's answers, "right painted cloth" perhaps the best are those put into the mouth of Childhood—

"... Would to God these hateful bookes all
Were in a fire burnt to powder small,
Then might I lead my life always in play
Which life God send me to mine ending day."

During the second visit of Erasmus to England (1505–6) More joined him in translating into Latin several of the dialogues of Lucian. More prepared the translation of the *Cynicus*, *Menippus*, and *Philopseudes:* and in addition wrote a declamation in imitation of the speeches then attributed to Lucian. These works appeared in the volume entitled *Luciani Dialogi . . . compluria opuscula . . . ab Erasmo Roteradamo & Thoma Moro . . . in latinorum linguam traducta* (Paris, 1506).

(*b*) (1509–1529)

More's young wife died in 1510 or 1511. His four children were very young; and within a few months he married again. His second wife was a widow—Alice Middleton—*nec bella, nec puella*, according to More's jest, and to judge from the account of her in Roper's life, a woman of all others least suited to be the wife of a saint. Fortunately, his kindliness and sense of humour enabled him to tolerate some of her faults: he endured, even if he did not tame the shrew.

In September, 1510, More had been Under-Sheriff of London, and a year later he became first a Bencher and then a "reader" of Lincoln's Inn. He soon had a large practice as a barrister, and the king, struck by his ability, desired to get him into the royal service. But until 1515 More kept clear of State affairs: in that year he went to Flanders in commission with Cuthbert Tunstall and three others. Their business was to negotiate the re-opening of trade between England and the Low Countries. On his return to England, about six months later, he

prepared *Utopia* for the press, while Wolsey was inducing him to come to Court.

In 1518 (after an Embassy to Calais in the previous year) he was made a Privy Councillor and Master of Requests. His career at court had begun. The story of his rise is not very interesting, and may be briefly summarized: he was knighted and made Under-Treasurer in 1521; chosen Speaker of the House of Commons (at Wolsey's suggestion) in 1523; appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1525; and, finally, at the fall of Wolsey, Lord High Chancellor, October 25, 1529.

In the meantime More had left his house in Bucklersbury and had gone to Chelsea, where he built himself a house and laid out a garden. Whether he had lived at Crosby Hall, in Bishopsgate, before going to Chelsea, is disputed.

During these twenty years (1509–1529) More had produced a number of books.

In 1510 appeared the *Life of Pico della Mirandola*, a translation of the Latin life by Pico's nephew, to which More added four of Pico's letters, a commentary on the Sixteenth Psalm, a version of a Latin prayer, and some verses—all translated from Pico. In 1543 was first published, in a mangled form, a *History of Richard III.*, attributed to More, and said to have been written by him in 1513. It is now commonly believed that the book was written in Latin by Morton, More's old patron, and that More translated it into English; but the question of its authorship has not been definitely decided. More's best-known work, *Utopia*, appeared in 1516. In 1518 was published a collection of More's Latin epigrams (re-issued with additions in 1520). In 1522 More wrote the tractale known as *The Four Last Things*, which was not published until 1557. A year later (1523) appeared a book against Luther, ostensibly written by one "Gulielmus Rosseus." "Gulielmus Rosseus," there is no doubt, was Sir Thomas

More. To the year 1528 belongs the *Dialogue*, and to the year 1529 the *Supplication of Souls:* the first is a treatise against Lutheran doctrines; the second, an answer to an attack on the friars—the *Supplication of Beggars*, by Simon Fish. The *Life of Pico*, the *History of Richard III.*, *Utopia*, and the *Four Last Things* retain their interest; the rest have been forgotten. Controversy about the Reformation has not yet dwindled to a calm, but only the historical student cares any longer to read the angry pamphlets in which earnest and saintly men demonstrated the truth of their views about the Church.

(*c*) (1529–1535)

As Lord Chancellor, More had attained to the highest post which the State could offer him. It is a commonplace that the things we most desire are the things which it is worst for us to have: to More the Chancellorship was only a step to death. It is hardly to be doubted that he accepted the position, not because it satisfied his ambition, but because it seemed to give him power to serve his fellow-countrymen. He did not realise that the King offered the post as a bribe.

In Westminster Hall More showed himself diligent and incorruptible.

> "When More some years had Chancellor been,
> No more suits did remain;
> The like will never more be seen
> Till More be there again."

So sang the people, showing more gratitude than inspiration. Numerous stories are told of More's despatch and inflexible honesty. They are hardly worth repeating. Honesty in

a judge is less remarkable now than it was in the reign of Henry VIII.

During the three years of More's Chancellorship, the disputes about the proposed divorce, and the Supremacy of the English Church, became extremely embarrassing to those faithful Roman Catholics who held office under the King. Henry knew that More was opposed to the divorce when he accepted the Chancellorship: and More seems to have believed that he would be allowed to retain his private views. But as time went on, More found his position becoming untenable. Accordingly, he delivered the Great Seal into the King's hands on May 16, 1532, and retired from Court, hoping to be allowed to spend the rest of his days in peace. During the years 1532 and 1533 he was not disappointed.

In the autumn of 1533 he made the mistake of visiting Elizabeth Barton—the Maid of Kent—at Sion House. He advised her to give herself to pious exercises, and not to meddle with politics. When she was arrested and tried for treason, it was asserted by the defence that More was one of her disciples.

Accordingly, in February, 1534, he was charged with knowledge and concealment of treason in his intercourse with the Holy Maid. He was brought before a Committee of the Privy Council, and was able to prove his innocence. He was therefore discharged. On March 30, 1534, Parliament passed an Act settling the succession to the throne on the children of Anne Boleyn (to whom the King had been married in the previous November), and Commissioners were appointed to administer the new oath of allegiance. It seems that the oath as administered was wider in scope than the Act of Parliament warranted: for there was added to it a clause by which those taking it abjured all foreign potentates, the phrase being intended to refer especially to the Pope.

In a letter to Margaret Roper, we have More's own account of his action.[1] He refused to take the oath, and he refused to give his reasons. This was on April 13. He was at first ordered into the custody of the Abbot of Westminster; then, four days later, on April 17, he was committed to the Tower. His own story of his last days is to be found in the series of letters which he wrote to Margaret Roper. His imprisonment at first was not very rigorous: he was allowed writing materials, and he received visits from his friends. During these few months he wrote several religious tracts, of which the most important is the *Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation.*

In November (1534) Parliament passed an Act abolishing the authority of the Pope in England. In April of the following year More was called upon to acknowledge the Royal Supremacy. He refused. Not long afterwards (in June) it was discovered that More had been carrying on a correspondence with Bishop Fisher, then in the Tower, and shortly to be executed on the same charge of treason. Nothing important was discovered against him: but all his books and writing materials were taken from him.

At last, on June 26, 1535, a commission was issued for the trial of Sir Thomas More, on the charge that he had maliciously attempted to deprive Henry of his title of Supreme Head of the Church in England. The trial took place on July 1. More was found guilty, and was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, mutilated, and quartered. The King changed the sentence to death by beheading. Not many good deeds are recollected of Henry: but it must be recorded as an instance of his generosity that he allowed Sir Thomas More to be murdered with an axe instead of a rope and a knife.

Early on the morning of July 6 the short procession set

[1] See pp. 275 and foll.

out from the gates of the Tower to the scaffold on Tower Hill. In the midst of soldiers, with their halberds shining in the light of the summer morning, walked Sir Thomas More, in a poor dress of friese, carrying a red cross in his hand.

> "Have ye nat seyn som time a palė face
> Among a prees, of him that hath be lad
> Toward his deeth, wher-as him gat no grace :
> And swich a colour in his face hath had,
> Men mightė know his face, that was bistad,
> Amongės alle the faces in that route ?"

On Tower Hill, at the foot of the scaffold, he jested as he had jested in his garden at Chelsea. "See me safe up," he said to the Lieutenant of the Tower, "and for my coming down let me shift for myself." On the scaffold he blindfolded himself : he placed his head upon the block : and the bright axe fell.

II

Utopia

DURING More's lifetime the world seemed to turn over in its sleep and open its eyes for a moment: it saw in antiquity a forgotten literature full of beauty and intelligence; it saw in the West an unknown world offering infinite wealth and power to its conquerors. For a while the world stared at its new toys, and then it went to sleep again.

To the young and the enthusiastic everything, for a short time, seemed different. The evil spirits of ignorance, and wickedness, and misery might be exorcised for ever; or at least the worst of them might be intimidated by learning and piety. From the time when he went to Oxford, a boy of fourteen, More had been caught by the love of Greek literature; and he learned early to look for the reform of Church and State by such men as Colet and Erasmus. In 1515, when he went on the Embassy to the Netherlands, More was thirty-seven years old: he was steeped to the lips in classical literature; and he was deeply interested in political problems. The leisure of the voyage, and the new sights, suggested to him his ideal republic; and it was during the journey that he conceived the idea of the Second Book of Utopia. On his return to England he wrote this part of the volume, and in the following year, 1516, he added to it the First Book.

The origin of one part of the scheme is indicated by

More himself. In 1507 there was published in a thin volume called *Cosmographiæ Introductio* an account of the four voyages of Amerigo Vespucci; in the story of the fourth voyage it is narrated that twenty-four men were left in a fortress near Cape Bahia. More used this detail as a starting-point. In the far-off new world everything was possible; one of these twenty-four men tells the story of Utopia—a republic in some respects closely resembling England, in others resembling the Netherlands, but recalling most of all the ideal world of Plato.

When describing a republic in the clouds a man might hope to escape the influences of his time; but nothing, in fact, is less likely: a man's ideals are those of his age—heightened, perhaps, but the same. In More's time the wise regulation of men's lives seemed to be the cure for most of the evils of life. Good rules would enable mankind to overcome its difficulties; somewhere men could be found better and wiser than their fellows, fit to make good rules for life; them men ought to obey, and be happy. There is something pathetic in this belief in human wisdom. We, at least, know better now.

The basis of More's *Utopia* is wise regulation, and the end to which his creation moves is expressly stated in the Second Book: "in the institution of that weale publique, this ende is onelye and chiefely pretended and mynded, that what time maye possibly be spared from the necessarye occupacions and affayres of the commen wealth, all that the citizeins shoulde withdrawe from the bodely service to the free libertye of the minde, and garnisshinge of the same. For herein they suppose the felicitye of this liffe to consiste." The Utopians must have been a race very different from average humanity; they were, in fact, the Greeks born again. The modern builder of a republic is not likely to put forward such an ideal. He would rather go to Rabelais for a motto.

But despite this lofty ideal, life must have been very dull in Utopia. "The free libertye of the minde, and garnisshinge of the same" are excellent things, no doubt; but when a young man was separated from his friends at every meal, and compelled to listen to an old man prating about wisdom, he might be pardoned if he grew tired of improving his mind.

One cannot help thinking, too, that some of the regulations in Utopia might have led to disagreements. A man might be pardoned for seeing difficulty in the arrangement whereby the head of a family was deposed when he "doted for age." One can almost hear the squabbling of his relations. But, after all, the real value of the book does not lie in its schemes but in its attitude to life.

How far More intended Utopia to be taken seriously has been much debated. Did he really believe in religious toleration, for example? If there existed a clear answer to such questions they would not be asked so often. It is difficult to reconcile More's actions as Chancellor with his opinions as a writer. The clue, perhaps, is to be found in the obvious remark that England in More's time was not an ideal republic. More no doubt believed that religious toleration was right in a republic which had never received a revelation from God, but he could not act upon such a belief in governing the England which he knew, a State rent in all directions by the crimes of many centuries, but based upon a religion directly revealed by God. In his ideal state he was free to imagine things as he pleased: it is interesting to know that religious toleration seemed to him an excellent thing in Utopia: but it is unreasonable to complain that he did not observe it in England, where the conditions were different. To borrow a phrase from Dr. Johnson, he could not "reduce to rational schemes of government, societies which were formed

by chance, and are conducted by the private passions of those who preside in them."

No doubt some of More's schemes were put forward as jests with a satirical purpose: but which are serious and which are not it is not always easy to say. It is difficult to believe that he would have encouraged practices so detestable as those used by the Utopians in war: but his feelings on the subject may have been other than ours. Codes of honour are very different in different men.

To the modern reader the most interesting part of *Utopia* is the first book. More imitated from the Platonic dialogues the carefully drawn picture of the incidents which led to the dialogue, and the brilliant character sketches of those who take part in it. His introductory book sets the chief speaker before us with some of the skill of Plato, though one misses the free air, and the bright sunshine, and the scent of the sea, which make the atmosphere of the Greek world.

The historical value of More's sketch of the condition of England is not easy to estimate. The inexperienced reader might suppose that More had lived in a time of exceptional misery. A little more reading would show that men always delight in praising times gone by, and lamenting the miseries and wickedness of the time in which they live. The oldest book in the world (the Papyrus Prisse) contains a lament on the degeneration of mankind.

"I find," says Thorold Rogers, "that the fifteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth were the golden age of the English labourer, if we are to interpret the wages which he earned by the cost of the necessaries of life. At no time were wages, relatively speaking, so high, and at no time was food so cheap."

It is to the first quarter of the sixteenth century that More's picture of misery belongs.

Whatever may be its value to the historian, the first

book is interesting. More's opportunities of seeing what he describes must have been small : he lived almost exclusively in or near London. He tells only what he has heard, and probably his story refers chiefly to the eastern counties of England, but his voice comes from the age itself, and we learn from him what was believed by at least one acute and honest mind.

A FRUTEFULL

PLEASAUNT, AND WITTIE WORKE OF THE BESTE STATE OF A PUBLIQUE WEALE, AND OF THE NEWE YLE, CALLED UTOPIA: WRITTEN IN LATINE, BY THE RIGHT WORTHIE AND FAMOUS SYR THOMAS MORE KNYGHT, AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISHE BY RAPHE ROBYNSON, SOMETIME FELLOWE OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE IN OXFORD, AND NOWE BY HIM AT THIS SECONDE EDITION NEWLIE PERUSED AND CORRECTED, AND ALSO WITH DIVERS NOTES IN THE MARGENT AUGMENTED.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON, BY
ABRAHAM VELE, DWELLINGE IN
PAULS CHURCHYARDE, AT THE SIGNE
OF THE LAMBE.

UTOPIA

Very little is known of Ralph Robinson the translator. He was born in 1521, one of a large and poor family, and was a schoolfellow of Cecil (as we learn from the Dedication) at Grantham and Stamford Grammar Schools. He went to Oxford, and after the usual career of a student came to London, obtained the livery of the Goldsmiths' Company, and was employed in some minor clerical capacity in Cecil's office. He made use of his early acquaintance with the great man to supplicate some relief from the poverty that troubled him all his life. His appeals seem to have been unsuccessful. The date of his death is uncertain. He was the first to render the "Utopia" into English, and the excellent spirit of his version, with its fine full-flavoured Tudor English, is his chief title to fame. More himself wrote with two pens. His Latin is close-knit, and sometimes obscure in its compression, while his English is formless and spacious, and sometimes obscure in its verbosity—his Letters in the present volume will be a sufficient example of this. Now, although Burnet's translation of "Utopia" is closer to More's Latin, I think we may say that if More had written in English the result would have been more like Robinson.

UTOPIA

DEDICATION FROM THE FIRST EDITION

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, AND HIS VERIE SINGULER GOOD MAISTER, MAISTER WILLIAM CECYLLE ESQUIERE, ONE OF THE TWOO PRINCIPALL SECRETARIES TO THE KYNG HIS MOSTE EXCELLENTE MAIESTIE, RAPHE ROBYNSON WISSHETH CONTINUAUNCE OF HEALTH, WITH DAYLY INCREASE OF VERTUE, AND HONOURE.[1]

UPON a tyme, when tidynges came too the citie of Corinthe that kyng Philippe father to Alexander surnamed the Great, was comming thetherwarde with an armie royall to lay siege to the citie: The Corinthians being forth with stryken with greate feare, beganne busilie, and earnestly to looke aboute them, and to falle to worke of all handes. Some to skowre and trymme up harneis,[2] some to carry stones, some to amende and buylde hygher the walles, some to rampiere[3] and fortyfie the bulwarkes, and fortresses,

[1] William Cecil Lord Burghley, to whom this dedication is addressed, is the famous statesman who held high office successively under Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. The king mentioned in the dedication is Edward VI. The dedication appears only in Robinson's first edition.

[2] Harness (armour).

[3] To strengthen, fortify: connected with "rampart." (Fr. ramparer, to fortify.)

some one thynge, and some another for the defendinge, and strengthenynge of the citie. The whiche busie labour, and toyle of theires when Diogenes the phylosopher sawe, having no profitable busines whereupon to sette himself on worke (neither any man required his labour, and helpe as expedient for the commen wealth in that necessitie) immediatly girded about him his phylosophicall cloke, and began to rolle, and tumble up and downe hether and thether upon the hille syde, that lieth adjoyninge to the citie, his great barrel or tunne, wherein he dwelled: for other dwellynge place wold he have none. This seing one of his frendes, and not a litell musynge therat, came to hym: And I praye the Diogenes (quod he) whie doest thou thus, or what meanest thou hereby? Forsothe I am tumblyng my tubbe to (quod he) bycause it where no reason that I only should be ydell, where so many be working. In semblable maner, right honorable sir, though I be, as I am in dede, of muche lesse habilitie then Diogenes was to do any thinge, that shall or may be for the avaunce-ment and commoditie of the publique wealth of my native countrey: yet I seing every sort, and kynde of people in theire vocation, and degree busilie occupied about the common wealthes affaires: and especially learned men dayly putting forth in writing newe inventions, and devises to the furtheraunce of the same: thought it my bounden duetie to God, and to my countrey so to tumble my tubbe, I meane so to occupie, and exercise meself in bestowing such spare houres, as I beinge at the becke, and commaundement of others, cold conveniently winne to me self: that though no commoditie of that my labour, & travaile to the publique weale should arise, yet it myght by this appeare, that myne endevoire, and good wille hereunto was not lacking. To the accomplishement therfore, and fulfylling of this my mynde, and purpose: I toke upon me to tourne, and translate oute

of Latine into oure Englishe tonge the frutefull, and profitable boke, which sir Thomas More knight compiled, and made of the new yle Utopia, conteining and setting forth the best state, and fourme of a publique weale: A worke (as it appeareth) written almost fourtie yeres ago by the said sir Thomas More the authour therof. The whiche man, forasmuche as he was a man of late tyme, yea almost of thies our dayes: and for the excellent qualities, wherewith the great goodnes of God had plentyfully endowed him, and for the high place, and rowme, wherunto his prince had most graciously called him, notably wel knowen, not only among us his countremen, but also in forrein countreis and nations: therfore I have not much to speake of him. This only I saye: that it is much to be lamented of al, and not only of us English men, that a man of so incomparable witte, of so profounde knowlege, of so absolute learning, and of so fine eloquence was yet neverthelesse so much blinded, rather with obstinacie, then with ignoraunce that he could not or rather would not see the shining light of godes holy truthe in certein principal pointes of Christian religion: but did rather cheuse to persever, and continue in his wilfull and stubbourne obstinacie even to the very death. This I say is a thing much to be lamented. But letting this matter passe, I retourne again to Utopia. Which (as I said befor) is a work not only for the matter that it conteineth frutefull and profitable, but also for the writers eloquent Latine stiele pleasaunt and delectable. Which he that readeth in latine, as the authour himself wrote it, perfectly understanding the same: doubtles he shal take great pleasure, and delite both in the sweete eloquence of the writer, and also in the wittie invencion, and fine conveiaunce,[1] or disposition of the matter: but most of all in the good, and holsome lessons, which be there in great plenty, & aboundaunce.

[1] Arrangement.

But nowe I feare greatly that in this my simple translation through my rudenes and ignoraunce in our english tonge all the grace and pleasure of the eloquence, wherwith the matter in latine is finely set forth may seme to be utterly excluded, and lost: and therfore the frutefulnes of the matter it selfe muche peradventure diminished, and appayred.[1] For who knoweth not whiche knoweth any thyng, that an eloquent styele setteth forth and highly commendeth a meane matter? Where as on the other side rude, and unlearned speche defaceth and disgraceth a very good matter. According as I harde ones a wise man say: A good tale evel tolde were better untold, and an evell tale well tolde nedeth none other sollicitour.[2] This thing I well pondering and wayinge with me self, and also knowing, and knowledging[3] the barbarous rudenes of my translation was fully determined never to have put it forth in printe, had it not bene for certein frendes of myne, and especially one, whom above al other I regarded, a man of sage, and discret witte and in worldly matters by long use well experienced, whoes name is George Tadlowe: an honest citizein of London, and in the same citie well accepted, and of good reputation: at whoes request, and instaunce I first toke upon my weake and feble sholders the heavie and weightie bourdein of this great enterprice. This man with divers others, but this man chiefely (for he was able to do more with me, then many other) after that I had ones rudely brought the worke to an ende, ceassed not by al meanes possible continualy to assault me, until he had at the laste, what by the force of his pitthie argumentes and strong reasons, and what by hys authority so persuaded me, that he caused me to agree and consente to the impryntynge herof. He

[1] Impaired, lessened.
[2] Advocate.
[3] Acknowledging.

therfore, as the chiefe persuadour, must take upon him the daunger, whyche upon this bolde, and rashe enterpryse shall ensue. I, as I suppose, am herin clerely acquytte and discharged of all blame. Yet, honorable Syr, for the better avoyding of envyous & malycyous tonges, I (knowynge you to be a man, not onlye profoundely learned and well affected towardes all suche, as eyther canne or wyll take paynes in the well bestowing of that poore talente, whyche GOD hath endued them wyth: but also for youre godlye dysposytyon & vertuous qualytyes not unworthelye nowe placed in aucthorytye and called to honoure) am the bolder humblye to offer and dedycate unto youre good maystershyppe thys my symple woorke. Partly that under the sauffe conducte of your protection it may the better be defended from the obloquie of them, which can say wel by nothing that pleaseth not their fond and corrupt judgementes, though it be els both frutefull and godly: and partlye that by the meanes of this homely present I may the better renewe, and revive (which of late, as you know, I have already begonne to do) that old acquayntaunce, that was betwene you and me in the time of our childhode, being then scolefellowes togethers. Not doubting that you for your native goodnes, & gentelnes will accept in good parte this poore gift, as an argument, or token, that mine old good wil and hartye affection towardes you is not, by reason of long tract of time and separation of our bodies, any thinge at all quayled and diminished, but rather (I assuer you) much augmented and increased. This verely is the chieffe cause, that hath incouraged me to be so bolde with youre maistershippe. Els truelye this my poore present is of such simple and meane sort, that it is neyther able to recompense the least portion of your great gentelnes to me, of my part undeserved, both in the time of our olde acquayntance, and also now lately again bountifully shewed: neither yet fitte and

mete for the very basenes of it to be offered to one so worthy, as you be. But almighty god (who therfore ever be thanked) hath avaunced you to such fortune and dignity, that you be of hability to accept thankefully as well a mans good will as his gift. The same god graunte you and all yours long, and joyfully to contynue in all godlynes and prosperytye.

THE TRANSLATOR TO THE GENTLE READER

THOU shalte understande gentle reader that thoughe this worke of Utopia in English, come nowe the seconde tyme furth in Print, yet was it never my minde nor intente, that it shoulde ever have bene Imprinted at all, as who for no such purpose toke upon me at the firste the translation thereof: but did it onelye at the request of a frende, for his owne private use, upon hope that he wolde have kept it secrete to hym self alone. Whom though I knew to be a man in dede, both very wittie, and also skilful, yet was I certen, that in the knowledge of the Latin tonge, he was not so well sene,[1] as to be hable to judge of the finenes or coursenes of my translation. Wherfore I wente the more sleightlye through with it, propoundynge to my selfe therein, rather to please my sayde frendes judgemente then myne owne. To the meanesse of whose learninge I thoughte it my part to submit and attemper my stile. Lightlie therefore I over ran the whole woorke, and in shorte tyme, with more hast, then good speede, I broughte it to an ende. But as the latin proverbe sayeth: The hastye bitche bringeth furth blind whelpes. For when this my worke was finished, the rudenes thereof shewed it to be done in poste haste. How be it, rude and base though it were, yet fortune so ruled the matter that to Imprintinge it came, and that partly against my wyll. Howebeit not beinge hable in this behalfe to

[1] Well instructed, or skilful.

resist the pitthie persuasions of my frendes, and perceaving therfore none other remedy, but that furth it shoulde: I comforted myselfe for the tyme, only with this notable saying of Terence.

> Ita vita est hominum, quasi quum ludas tesseris.
> Si illud, quod est maxume opus iactu non cadit:
> Illud, quod cecidit forte, id arte ut corrigas.

In which verses the Poete likeneth or compareth the life of man to a diceplaiyng or a game at the tables: Meanynge therein, if that chaunce rise not, whiche is most for the plaiers advauntage, that then the chaunce, which fortune hathe sent, ought so connyngly to be played, as may be to the plaier least dammage. By the which worthy similitude surely the wittie Poete geveth us to understande, that though in any of our actes and doynges, (as it ofte chaunceth) we happen to faile and misse of our good pretensed[1] purpose, so that the successe and our intente prove thinges farre odde: yet so we ought with wittie circumspection to handle the matter, that no evyll or incommoditie, as farre furth as may be, and as in us lieth, do therof ensue. According to the whiche counsell, though I am in dede in comparison of an experte gamester and a conning player, but a verye bungler, yet have I in this bychaunce, that on my side unwares hath fallen, so (I suppose) behaved myself, that, as doubtles it might have bene of me much more conningly handled, had I forethought so much, or doubted any such sequele at the beginninge of my plaie: so I am suer it had bene much worse then it is, if I had not in the ende loked somwhat earnestlye to my game. For though this worke came not from me so fine, so perfecte, and so exact at the first, as surely for my smale lerning it should have done, yf I had then ment the publishing therof in print: yet I trust I have now in this seconde edition taken about it such paines, that

[1] Intended.

verye fewe great faultes and notable errours are in it to be founde. Now therfore, most gentle reader, the meanesse of this simple translation, and the faultes that be therin (as I feare muche there be some) I doubt not, but thou wilt, in just consideration of the premisses, gentlye and favourablye winke at them. So doynge thou shalt minister unto me good cause to thinke my labour and paynes herein not altogethers[1] bestowed in vaine. Vale.

[1] The forms "togethers" and "altogethers" appear regularly here, just as Caxton's Malory has "to gyders." Modern English keeps a double form in "forward, forwards," etc.

THOMAS MORE TO PETER GILES,[1] SENDETH GRETYNGE.

I AM almoste ashamed, righte welbeloved Peter Giles, to send unto you this boke of the Utopian commen wealth, welniegh after a yeres space, whiche I am sure you looked for within a moneth and a halfe. And no marveil. For you knewe well ynough that I was alreadye disbourdened of all the laboure & studye belongynge to the invention in this worke, and that I had no nede at al to trouble my braines about the disposition or conveiaunce of the matter: and therfore had herein nothing els to do, but only to rehearse those thinges, whiche you and I togethers hard maister Raphael[2] tel and declare. Wherefore there was no cause why I shuld study to set forth the matter with eloquence: forasmuch as his talke could not be fine and eloquent, beynge firste not studied for, but suddein and unpremeditate, and then, as you know, of a man better sene in the Greke language, then in the latin tonge. And my writynge, the niegher it should approche to his homely plaine, and simple speche, somuche the niegher shuld it go to the trueth: which is the onelye marke, wherunto I do and ought to directe all my travail and study herin. I

Trueth loveth simplicitie and playnes

[1] Peter Gillis, or Giles (latinized as Petrus Ægidius), a real person, friend of More, pupil of Erasmus, and citizen and town-clerk of Antwerp. See his letter to Busleyden at the end of the book. Both letters are part of the apparatus of deception.

[2] Raphael Hythloday, the alleged discoverer and describer of Utopia. See p. 23.

graunte and confesse, frende Peter, myselfe discharged of so muche laboure, havinge all these thinges ready done to my hande, that almooste there was nothinge left for me to do. Elles either the invention, or the disposition of this matter myghte have required of a witte neither base, neither at all unlearned, both some time and leasure, and also some studie. But if it were requisite, and necessarie, that the matter shoulde also have bene wrytten eloquentlie, and not alone truelye: of a sueretie that thynge coulde I have perfourmed by no tyme nor studye. But now seynge all these cares, stayes, and lettes[1] were taken awaye, wherin elles so muche laboure and studye shoulde have bene employed, and that there remayned no other thynge for me to do, but onelye to write playnelie the matter as I hard it spoken: that in deede was a thynge lighte and easye to be done. Howbeit to the dispatchynge of thys so lytle busynesse, my other cares and troubles did leave almost lesse then no leasure. Whiles I doo dayelie bestowe my time aboute lawe matters: some to pleade, some to heare, some as an arbitratoure with myne awarde to determine, some as an umpier or a Judge, with my sentence finallye to discusse. Whiles I go one waye to see and visite my frende: another waye about myne owne privat affaires. Whiles I spende almost al the day abrode emonges other, and the residue at home among mine owne; I leave to my self, I meane to my booke no time. For when I am come home, I muste commen[2] with my wife, chatte with my children, and talke wyth my servauntes. All the whiche thinges I recken and accompte amonge businesse, forasmuche as they muste of necessitie be done: and done muste they nedes be, onelesse a man wyll be straunger in his owne house. And in any wyse a man muste so fashyon and order hys conditions, and

The authors busines and lettes

[1] Hindrances. [2] Commune.

so appoint and dispose him selfe, that he be merie, jocunde, and pleasaunt amonge them, whom eyther nature hathe provided, or chaunce hath made, or he hym selfe hath chosen to be the felowes, and companyons of hys life: so that with to muche gentle behavioure and familiaritie, he do not marre them, and by to muche sufferaunce of his servauntes, make them his maysters. Emonge these thynges now rehearsed, stealeth awaye the daye, the moneth, the yeare. When do I write then? And all this while have I spokén no worde of slepe, neyther yet of meate, which emong a great number doth wast no lesse tyme then doeth slepe, wherein almoste halfe the life tyme of man crepeth awaye. I therefore do wynne and get onelye that tyme, whiche I steale from slepe and meate. Whiche tyme because it is very litle, and yet somwhat it is, therfore have I ones at the laste, thoughe it be longe first, finished Utopia: and have sent it to you, frende Peter, to reade and peruse: to the intente that yf anye thynge have escaped me, you might put me in remembraunce of it. For thoughe in this behalfe I do not greatlye mistruste my selfe (whiche woulde God I were somwhat in wit and learninge, as I am not all of the worste and dullest memorye) yet have I not so great truste and confidence in it, that I thinke nothinge coulde fall out of my mynde. For John Clement[1] my boye, who as you know was there presente with us, whome I suffer to be awaye frome no talke, wherein maye be any profyte or goodnes (for oute of this yonge bladed and new shotte up corne, whiche hathe alreadye begon to spring up both in Latin and Greke learnyng, I loke for plentifull increase at length of goodly rype grayne) he I saye hathe

Meate and slepe great wasters of time

John Clement

[1] A lad brought up in More's house, as More had been in Morton's. Clement seems to have justified More's anticipation, for he gained distinction as a classical scholar, and later as a physician.

broughte me into a greate doubte. For wheras Hythlodaye (onelesse my memorye fayle me) sayde that the bridge of Amaurote, whyche goethe over the river of Anyder is fyve hundreth paseis,[1] that is to saye, halfe a myle in lengthe: my John sayeth that two hundred of those paseis muste be plucked away, for that the ryver conteyneth there not above three hundreth paseis in breadthe, I praye you hartelye call the matter to youre remembraunce. For yf you agree wyth hym, I also wyll saye as you saye, and confesse myselfe deceaved. But if you cannot remember the thing, then surelye I wyll write as I have done and as myne owne remembraunce serveth me. For as I wyll take good hede, that there be in my booke nothing false, so yf there be anye thynge doubtefull, I wyll rather tell a lye, then make a lie[2]: bycause I had rather be good, then wilie. Howebeit thys matter maye easelye be remedied, yf you wyll take the paynes to aske the question of Raphael him selfe by woorde of mouthe, if he be nowe with you, or elles by youre letters. Whiche you muste nedes do for another doubte also, that hathe chaunced, throughe whose faulte I cannot tel: whether through mine, or yours, or Raphaels. For neyther we remembred to enquire of him, nor he to tel us in what part of the newe world Utopia is situate. The whiche thinge, I had rather have spent no small somme of money, then that it should thus have escaped us: as well for that I am ashamed to be ignoraunt in what sea that ylande standeth, wherof I write so long a treatise, as also because there be with us certen men, and especiallie one vertuous and godly man, and a professour of divinitie, who is excedynge desierous to

A diversitie betwene making a lye, and telling a lie

In what parte of the worlde Utopia standeth it is unknowen

[1] Paces ("hundredth" appears thus in the text).

[2] That is: I would rather repeat another's falsehood than create one of my own.

go unto Utopia: not for a vayne and curious desyre to see newes,[1] but to the intente he maye further and increase oure religion, whiche is there alreadye luckelye begonne.[2] And that he maye the better accomplyshe and perfourme this hys good intente, he is mynded to procure that he maye be sente thether by the hieghe Byshoppe: yea, and that he himselfe may be made Bishoppe of Utopia, beynge nothynge scrupulous herein, that he muste obteyne this Byshopricke with suete.[4] For he counteth that a godly suete, which procedeth not of the desire of honoure or lucre, but onelie of a godlie zeale. Wherfore I moste earnestly desire you, frende Peter, to talke with Hythlodaye, yf you can, face to face, or els to wryte youre letters to hym, and so to woorke in thys matter, that in this my booke there maye neyther anye thinge be founde, whyche is untrue, neyther any thinge be lacking, whiche is true. And I thynke verelye it shalbe well done, that you shewe unto him the booke it selfe. For yf I have myssed or fayled in anye poynte, or if anye faulte have escaped me, no man can so well correcte and amende it, as he can: and yet that can he not do, oneles he peruse and reade over my booke written. Moreover by this meanes shall you perceave, whether he be well wyllynge and content, that I shoulde undertake to put this woorke in writyng. For if he be mynded to publyshe, and put forth his owne laboures, and travayles himselfe, perchaunce he woulde be lothe, and so woulde I also, that in publishynge the

It is thoughte of some that here is unfainedly ment the late famous vicare of Croydon in Surrey[3]

A godly suete

[1] Modern English has now restricted "news" to what is *heard*.

[2] By the efforts of Hythloday, as told later.

[3] The vicar was something of a character. See further, More's first Letter at the end of the volume.

[4] That is: so eager is he to go there as bishop, that he will sink all his scruples, and sue to be made bishop.

Utopiane weale publyque, I shoulde prevent[1] him, and take frome him the flower and grace of the noveltie of this his historie. Howbeit, to saye the verye trueth, I am not yet fullye determined with my selfe, whether I will put furth my booke or no. For the natures of men be so divers, the phantasies of some so waywarde, their myndes so unkynde, their judgementes so corrupte, that they which leade a merie[2] and a jocounde lyfe, folowynge theyr owne sensuall pleasures and carnall lustes, maye seme to be in a muche better state or case, then they that vexe and unquiete themselves with cares and studie for the puttinge forthe and publishynge of some thynge, that maye be either profeit or pleasure to others: whiche others nevertheles will disdainfully, scornefully, and unkindly accepte the same. The moost part of al be unlearned. And a greate number hathe learning in contempte. The rude and barbarous alloweth[3] nothing, but that which is verie barbarous in dede. If it be one that hath a little smacke of learnynge, he rejecteth as homely geare and commen ware, whatsoever is not stuffed full of olde moughteaten[4] termes, and that be worne out of use. Some there be that have pleasure onelye in olde rustie antiquities. And some onelie in their owne doynges. One is so sowre, so crabbed, and so unpleasaunte, that he can awaye with no myrthe nor sporte. An other is so narrowe betwene the shulders,[5] that he can beare no jestes nor tauntes. Some seli[6] poore soules be so afearde that at everye

The unkynde judgementes of men

[1] Anticipate.

[2] It is characteristic of More that the words "merry" and "merrily" are ever on his lips.

[3] "Allow" in its old sense of "approve" (*ad*, and *laudare*, to praise).

[4] Motheaten.

[5] The sense is the same as in our "thin-skinned."

[6] Variously used as "innocent," "simple," and as "silly" in its usual sense. In a letter to Margaret, More calls himself, "thy silly father."

snappishe woorde their nose shall be bitten of, that they stande in no lesse drede of everye quicke and sharpe woorde, then he that is bitten of a madde dogge feareth water. Some be so mutable and waverynge, that every houre they be in a newe mynde, sayinge one thinge syttinge and an other thynge standynge. An other sorte sytteth upon their allebencheis,[1] and there amonge their cuppes they geve judgement of the wittes of writers, and with greate authoritie they condempne even as pleaseth them, everye writer accordynge to his writinge, in moste spitefull maner mockynge, lowtinge,[2] and flowtinge them ; beyng them selves in the meane season sauffe[3] and as sayeth the proverbe, oute of all daunger of gonneshotte.[4] For why, they be so smugge and smothe, that they have not so much as one hearre[5] of an honeste man, wherby one may take holde of them. There be moreover some so unkynde and ungentle, that thoughe they take great pleasure, and delectation in the worke, yet for all that, they can not fynde in their hertes to love the Author therof, nor to aforde him a good woorde : beynge much like uncourteous, unthankfull, and chourlish gestes. Whiche when they have with good and daintie meates well fylled theire bellyes, departe home, gevyng no thankes to the feaste maker. Go your wayes now and make a costlye feaste at your owne charges for gestes so dayntie mouthed, so divers in taste, and besides that of so unkynde and unthankfull natures. But nevertheles (frende Peter) doo, I pray you, with Hithloday, as I willed you before. And as for this matter I shall be at my libertie, afterwardes to take newe advisement. Howbeit, seeyng I have taken great paynes and laboure in writyng the matter, if it may stande with his mynde and pleasure, I wyll as

A fitte Similitude

[1] Ale-benches.
[2] Treating them as louts. "Flouting" is "insulting."
[3] Safe.
[4] Gunshot.
[5] Hair.

touchying the edition or publishyng of the booke, followe the counsell and advise of my frendes, and speciallye yours. Thus fare you well right hertely beloved frende Peter, with your gentle wife : and love me as you have ever done, for I love you better then ever I dyd.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE COMMUNICATION OF RAPHAEL HYTHLODAY, CONCERNYNG THE BEST STATE OF A COMMENWELTH

THE moste victorious and triumphant Kyng of Englande Henrye the eyght of that name, in al roial vertues, a Prince most perelesse,[1] hadde of late in controversie with Charles,[2] the right highe and mightye Kyng of Castell, weighty matters and of great importaunce. For the debatement and final determination whereof the kinges Majesty sent me Ambassadour into Flaunders, joyned in Commission with Cuthbert Tunstall,[3] a man doutlesse out of comparison, and whom the Kynges Majestie of late, to the great rejoysynge

Cuthbert Tunstall

[1] Henry was then twenty-five, and had reigned seven years. He was still handsome, witty, accomplished, and full of the brilliant promise that his later years so terribly belied.

[2] The Emperor Charles V., who, in 1555, weary of empire, resigned his crown, and retired to a monastery—not an unfitting end for the sad-eyed horseman in Titian's famous picture.

[3] Afterwards Bishop (successively) of London and Durham. At the triumph of Protestantism under Elizabeth, he was deprived of his offices, and died, in 1559, virtually a prisoner.

of all men, dyd preferre to the office of Maister of the Rolles.

But of this mannes prayses I wyll saye nothyng, not bicause I doo feare that small credence shalbe geven to the testimonye that cometh out of a frendes mouthe: but bicause his vertue and lernyng be greater, and of more excellency, then that I am able to praise them: and also in all places so famous and so perfectly well knowne, that they neede not, nor oughte not of me to bee praysed, unlesse I woulde seeme to shew and set furth the brightnes of the sonne with a candell, as the Proverbe saieth. There mette us at Bruges[1] (for thus it was before agreed) thei whom their Prince hadde for that matter appoynted Commissioners: excellent men all. The chiefe and the head of theym was the Maregrave (as thei call him) of Bruges,[1] a right honorable man: but the wisest and the best spoken of them was George Temsice, provost of Casselses,[2] a man, not only by lernyng, but also by nature of singular eloquence, and in the lawes profoundly learned: but in reasonynge and debatyng of matters, what by his naturall witte, and what by daily exercise, surely he hadde few fellowes. After that we had once or twise mette, and upon certayne poyntes or articles coulde not fully and throughly agree, they for a certayne space tooke their leave of us, and departed to Bruxelle,[3] there to know their Princes pleasure. I in the meane time (for so my busines laye) wente streighte thence to Antwerpe. While I was there abidynge, often times amonge other, but whiche to me was more welcome then annye other, dyd visite me one

[1] Not, as to-day, the half-dead, reminiscent city, but a great centre of varied life and interests.

[2] Now Cassel, south of Dunkirk, in North France. George van Temsicke is not important. The curious may consult *Bibliotheca Belgica* (1739).

[3] Brussels.

Peter Giles, a Citisen of Antwerpe, a man there in his countrey of honest reputation, and also preferred to high promotions, worthy truly of the hyghest. For it is hard to say, whether the yong man be in learnyng, or in honestye more excellent. For he is bothe of wonderfull vertuous conditions, and also singularly wel learned, and towardes all sortes of people excedyng gentyll: but towardes his frendes so kynde herted, so lovyng, so faithfull, so trustye, and of so earnest affection, that it were verye harde in any place to fynde a man, that with him in all poyntes of frendshippe maye be compared. No man can be more lowlye or courteous. No man useth lesse simulation or dissimulation, in no man is more prudent simplicitie. Besides this, he is in his talke and communication so merye and pleasaunte, yea and that withoute harme, that throughe his gentyll intertaynement, and his sweete and delectable communication, in me was greatly abated, and diminished the fervente desyre, that I had to see my native countrey, my wyfe and my chyldren, whom then I dyd muche longe and covete to see, because that at that time I had been more then iiii. Monethes from them. Upon a certayne daye when I hadde herde the divine service in our Ladies Churche,[1] which is the fayrest, the most gorgeous and curious[2] Churche of buyldyng in all the Citie, and also most frequented of people, and the service beynge doone, was readye to go home to my lodgynge, I chaunced to espye this foresayde[3] Peter talkynge with a certayne Straunger, a man well stricken in age, with a blacke sonneburned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke cast homly[4] about his shoulders, whome, by his favoure and apparell furthwith I judged to bee a mariner. But the sayde Peter seyng me, came unto me and

Peter Gyles

[1] The famous Antwerp Cathedral—then new.
[2] Not in our sense, but "carefully and skilfully wrought."
[3] Aforesaid.
[4] Simply, or carelessly.

saluted me. And as I was aboute to answere him: see you this man, sayth he (and therewith he poynted to the man, that I sawe hym talkynge with before) I was mynded, quod he, to brynge him strayghte home to you. He should have ben very welcome to me, sayd I, for your sake. Nay (quod he) for his owne sake, if you knewe him: for there is no man thys day livyng, that can tell you of so manye straunge and unknowen peoples, and Countreyes, as this man can. And I know wel that you be very desirous to heare of such newes. Then I conjectured not farre a misse (quod I) for even at the first syght I judged him to be a mariner. Naye (quod he) there ye were greatly deceyved: he hath sailed in deede, not as the mariner Palinure,[1] but as the experte and prudent prince Ulisses: yea, rather as the auncient and sage Philosopher Plato. For this same Raphaell Hythlodaye[2] (for this is his name) is very well lerned in the Latine tongue: but profounde and excellent in the Greke language. Wherin he ever bestowed more studye then in the Latine, bycause he had geven himselfe wholy to the study of Philosophy. Wherof he knew that ther is nothyng extante in Latine, that is to anye purpose, savynge a fewe of Senecaes, and Ciceroes dooynges.[3] His patri-

Raphaell Hithlodaye

[1] Palinurus was the pilot of Æneas in Vergil's *Æneid*. Ulysses, the wily King of Ithaca, had many surprising adventures after the fall of Troy, as related in the *Odyssey*. Plato is quoted, not as a traveller (though there are stories about his journeys in search of wisdom), but rather as the first of all Utopists by virtue of his "Republic." The sense is that Hythloday was much more than a mere sailor: he was a skilful leader and a deep speculator.

[2] The name Hythloday is compounded of *ὕθλος* = visionary talk (Lat. nugae), and (perhaps) some derivative of the old root **δάω* in its causal sense of "to teach." I am inclined to think the name *Δαίδαλος* (Dædalus) suggested the last syllable, for Raphael is certainly a "fashioner of deception," an "artist in visions."

[3] Cicero is, of course, the famous orator and philosopher (106–43 B.C.). Seneca, the great Roman philosopher, was the tutor of Nero, by whom he was ordered to put himself to death (65 A.D.). Like Boëthius, he was a favourite moralist of the Middle Ages, and again like him, has passed out of favour.

monye that he was borne unto, he lefte to his brethern (for he is a Portugall borne) and for the desire that he had to see, and knowe the farre Countreyes of the worlde, he joyned himselfe in company with Amerike Vespuce,[1] and in the iii. last voyages of those iiii. that be nowe in printe and abrode in every mannes handes, he continued styll in his company, savyng that in the last voyage he came not home agayne with him. For he made suche meanes and shift, what by intretaunce, and what by importune sute, that he gotte licence of mayster Americke (though it were sore against his wyll) to be one of the xxiiii whiche in the ende of the last voyage were left in the countrey of Gulike.[2] He was therefore lefte behynde for hys mynde sake,[3] as one that tooke more thoughte and care for travailyng, then dyenge: havyng customably in his mouth these saiynges. He that hathe no grave, is covered with the skye: and, the way to heaven out of all places is of like length and distaunce. Which fantasy of his (if God had not ben his better frende) he had surely bought full deare. But after the departynge of Mayster Vespuce, when he had travailed thorough and aboute many Countreyes

[1] Amerigo Vespucci (1451–1512), the Florentine navigator, who is immortalized in the name given to the New World. His "Four Voyages" appeared in 1507, and gave More the stage-setting of the "Utopia." The last "Voyage" tells how twenty-four Christian men were left behind in Brazil with all material necessaries for six months, and how they were established in a fortified spot or "castellum."

[2] The note above relates how the twenty-four settlers were left in a fortified place, or "castellum." In More's Latin they were the men "qui ad fines postremae navigationis in Castello relinquebantur." The excellent Robinson, misled by the capital letter, deemed Castellum the name of a place, and the gazetteers of his day told him that Castellum was the Latin name for Jülich, or Gulike; though, as this was an undistinguished town near Cologne, it is hard to see why Amerigo should have discovered it with six ships. But "Gulike" it appears; and lower, the "quinque Castellanorum comites" become "five Gulikians."

[3] *I.e.* because he had a mind to be left—because it was his wish to be left.

with v. of his companions Gulikianes, at the last by merveylous chaunce he arrived in Taprobane,[1] from whence he went to Caliquit,[2] where he chaunced to fynde certayne of hys Countreye shippes, wherein he retourned agayne into his Countreye, nothynge lesse then looked for.[3]

All this when Peter hadde tolde me: I thanked him for his gentle kindnesse, that he had vouchsafed to brynge me to the speache of that man, whose communication he thoughte shoulde be to me pleasaunte, and acceptable. And therewith I tourned me to Raphaell. And when wee hadde haylsed[4] eche other, and had spoken these commune woordes, that bee customablye spoken at the first meting and acquaintaunce of straungers, we went thence to my house, and there in my gardaine upon a bench covered with greene torves,[5] we satte down talkyng together. There he tolde us, how that after the departyng of Vespuce, he and his fellowes, that taried behynde in Gulicke, began by litle and litle, throughe fayre and gentle speache, to wynne the love and favoure of the people of that countreye, insomuche that within shorte space, they dyd dwell amonges them, not only harmlesse, but also occupiyng[6] with them verye familiarly. He tolde us also, that they were in high reputation and favour with a certayne great man (whose name and Countreye is nowe quite out of my remembraunce) which of his mere liberalitie dyd beare the costes and charges of him and his fyve companions. And besides that gave theim a trustye guyde to conducte them in their journey (which by water was in botes, and by land in wagons) and to brynge theim to other Princes with verye frendlye

[1] Ceylon.
[2] Calicut.
[3] Quite unexpectedly.
[4] Greeted, or hailed.
[5] Turfs—the illustration shows the grass-covered seats.
[6] Doing business: thus in the Parable of the Pounds we have, "Occupy till I come."

commendations. Thus after manye dayes journeys, he sayd, they founde townes and Cities and weale publiques, full of people, governed by good and holsome lawes. For under the line equinoctiall, and on bothe sydes of the same, as farre as the Sonne doth extende his course, lyeth (quod he) great and wyde desertes and wildernesses, parched, burned, and dryed up with continuall and intollerable heate. All thynges bee hideous, terrible, lothesome, and unpleasaunt to beholde: All thynges out of fassyon[1] and comelinesse, inhabited withe wylde Beastes, and Serpentes, or at the leaste wyse, with people, that be no lesse savage, wylde, and noysome, then the verye beastes theim selves be. But a little farther beyonde that, all thynges beginne by litle and lytle to waxe pleasaunte. The ayre softe, temperate, and gentle. The grounde covered with grene grasse. Lesse wildnesse in the beastes. At the last shall ye come agayne to people, cities and townes wherein is continuall entercourse and occupiyng of merchaundise and chaffare,[2] not only among themselves and with theire Borderers, but also with Merchauntes of farre Countreyes, bothe by lande and water. There I had occasion (sayd he) to go to many countreyes on every syde. For there was no shippe ready to any voyage or journey, but I and my fellowes were into it very gladly receyved. The shippes that thei founde first were made playn, flatte and broade in the botome, trough wise. The sayles were made of great russhes, or of wickers, and in some places of lether. Afterwarde thei founde shippes with ridged kyeles, and sayles of canvasse, yea, and shortly after, havyng all thynges lyke oures. The shipmen also very experte and cunnynge, bothe in

Shippes of straunge fassions

[1] Not "unfashionable," but out of "fashion," in the sense of out of "shape"—and so, "in confusion." Latin is "horrida atque in culta omnia."

[2] Chaffering, or bargaining.

the sea and in the wether. But he saide, that he founde great favoure and frendship amonge them, for teachynge them the feate[1] and the use of the lode stone. Whiche to them before that time was unknowne.[2] And therfore they were wonte to be verye timerous and fearfull upon the sea. Nor to venter upon it, but only in the somer time. But nowe they have suche a confidence in that stone, that they feare not stormy winter: in so dooynge, farther from care then daunger.[3] In so muche, that it is greatly to be doubted, lest that thyng, throughe their owne folish hardinesse, shall tourne them to evyll and harme,[4] which at the first was supposed shoulde be to them good and commodious. But what he tolde us that he sawe in everye countreye where he came, it were very longe to declare. Neither it is my purpose at this time to make rehersall therof. But peradventure in an other place I wyll speake of it, chiefly suche thynges as shall be profitable to bee knowen, as in speciall be those decrees and ordinaunces, that he marked to be well and wittely provided and enacted amonge suche peoples, as do live together in a civile policye and good ordre. For of suche thynges dyd wee buselye enquire, and demaunde of him, and he likewise very willingly tolde us of the same. But as for monsters, bycause they be no newes, of them we were nothyng inquisitive. For nothyng is more easye to bee founde, then bee barkynge Scyllaes,[5] ravenyng Celenes,[6] and Lestrigones[7] devourers of people, and suche lyke great, and incredible monsters. But to

The lode stone

[1] Art, employment.
[2] The use of the magnetic needle in navigation was still something of a novelty in More's day.
[3] *I.e.* they are more free from care than free from danger.
[4] Shall turn for them into an evil.
[5] Scylla was the monster infesting a rock between Italy and Sicily.
[6] Celaeno was chief of the Harpies, or vulture-women.
[7] The man-eating tribe so fatal to some of the followers of Ulysses.

fynde Citisens ruled by good and holsome lawes, that is an exceding rare, and harde thyng. But as he marked many fonde, and folisshe lawes in those newe founde landes, so he rehersed divers actes, and constitutions, whereby these oure Cities, Nations, Countreis, and Kyngdomes may take example to amende their faultes, enormities and errours. Wherof in another place (as I sayde) I wyll intreate.

Now at this time I am determined to reherse onely that he tolde us of the maners, customes, lawes, and ordinaunces of the Utopians. But first I wyll repete oure former communication, by thoccasion, and (as I might saye) the drifte wherof, he was brought into the mention of that weale publique.

For, when Raphael had very prudentlye touched divers thynges that be amisse, some here and some there, yea, very many on bothe partes ; and againe had spoken of suche wise lawes, and prudente decrees, as be established and used, bothe here amonge us and also there amonge theym, as a man so perfecte, and experte in the lawes, and customes of every severall Countrey, as though into what place soever he came geastwise,[1] there he had ledde al his life: then Peter muche mervailynge at the man: Surely maister Raphael (quod he) I wondre greatly, why you gette you not into some kinges courte. For I am sure there is no Prince livyng, that wold not be very glad of you, as a man not only hable highly to delite him with your profounde learnyng, and this your knowledge of countreis, and peoples, but also mete to instructe him with examples, and helpe him with counsell. And thus doyng, you shall bryng your selfe in a verye good case, and also be of habilitie to helpe all your frendes and kinsfolke.

As concernyng my frendes and kynsfolk (quod

[1] Like a guest or visitor : "as a man so perfect, etc.," amplifies both "touched" and "spoken."

he) I passe not[1] greatly for them. For I thinke I have sufficiently doone my parte towardes them already. For these thynges, that other men doo not departe from, untyl they be olde and sycke, yea, whiche they be then verye lothe to leave, when they canne no longer keepe, those very same thynges dyd I beyng not only lustye, and in good helth, but also in the floure of my youth, divide among my frendes and kynsfolkes. Which I thynke with this my liberaltie ought to holde them contented, and not to require nor to loke that besydes this, I shoulde for their sakes geve myselfe in bondage unto kinges.

Nay, God forbyd that (quod Peter) it is notte my mynde that you shoulde be in bondage to Kynges, but as a retainour to them at your pleasure.[2] Which surely I thinke is the nighest waye that you can divise howe to bestow your time frutefully, not onlye for the private commoditie of your frendes and for the generall profite of all sortes of people, but also for thadvauncement of your self to a much welthier state and condition, then you be nowe in.

To a welthier condition (quod Raphael) by that meanes, that my mynde standeth cleane agaynst? Now I lyve at libertie after myne owne mynde and pleasure, whiche I thynke verye fewe of these great states, and pieres of realmes can saye. Yea, and there be ynow of them that sue for great mens frendeshippes: and therfore thinke it no great hurte, if they have not me, nor iii. or iiii. suche other as I am.

Well, I perceive playnly frende Raphael (quod I) that you be desirous neither of richesse, nor of power. And truly I have in no less reverence and estimation a man of your mynde, then anye of theim all that

[1] I care not.

[2] More writes here, "mihi visum est, non ut servias regibus, sed ut inservias": that is, not as slave but as servant. "Hoc est" inquit ille "una syllaba plus, quam servias;" "that is," Raphael retorts, "merely one syllable the more;" the sense being, new "servant" is but old "slave" writ large. All this is lost in Robinson's easy paraphrase.

bee so high in power and authoritie. But you shall doo as it becometh you: yea, and accordyng to this wisdome, to this high and free courage of yours, if you can finde in your herte so to appoynt and dispose your selfe, that you mai applye your witte and diligence to the profite of the weale publique, thoughe it be somewhat to youre owne payne and hyndraunce. And this shall you never so wel doe, nor wyth so greate proffitte perfourme, as yf you be of some greate princes counsel, and put into his heade (as I doubte not but you wyl) honeste opinions and vertuous persuasions. For from the prince, as from a perpetual wel sprynge, commethe amonge the people the floode of al that is good or evell. But in you is so perfitte lernynge, that withoute anye experience, and agayne so greate experience, that wythoute anye lernynge you maye well be any kinges counsellour.[1]

You be twyse deceaved maister More (quod he) fyrste in me, and agayne in the thinge it selfe. For neither is in me the habilitye that you force upon me, and yf it wer never so much, yet in disquieting myne owne quietnes I should nothing further the weale publique. For first of all, the moste parte of all princes have more delyte in warlike matters, and feates of chivalrie (the knowlege wherof I neither have nor desire) than in the good feates of peace: and employe muche more study, how by right or by wrong to enlarge their dominions, than howe wel and peaceablie to rule, and governe that they have alredie. Moreover, they that be counsellours to kinges, every one of them eyther is of him selfe so wise in dede, that he nedeth not, or elles he thinketh himself so wise, that he wil not allowe another mans counsel, saving that they do shamefully and flatter-

[1] The sense is "your learning alone, or your experience alone would make you an ideal adviser; but you have both learning and experience." The English here is closer knit, and more epigrammatic than the Latin.

ingly geve assent to the fond and folishe sayinges of certeyn great men. Whose favours, bicause they be in high authoritie with their prince, by assentation and flatterie they labour to obteyne. And verily it is naturally geven to all men to esteme their owne inventions best. So both the Raven and the Ape thincke their owne yonge ones fairest. Than if a man in such a company, where some disdayne and have despite at other mens inventions, and some counte their owne best, if among suche menne (I say) a man should bringe furth any thinge, that he hath redde done in tymes paste, or that he hath sene done in other places: there the hearers fare[1] as though the whole existimation of their wisdome were in jeoperdye to be overthrowen, and that ever after thei shoulde be counted for verye diserdes,[2] unles they could in other mens inventions pycke out matter to repre-hend, and find fault at. If all other poore helpes fayle, then this is their extreame refuge. These thinges (say they) pleased our forefathers and auncestours; wolde God we coulde be so wise as thei were: and as though thei had wittely concluded the matter, and with this answere stopped every mans mouth, thei sitte downe againe. As who should say, it were a very daungerous matter, if a man in any pointe should be founde wiser, then his forefathers were. And yet bee we content to suffre the best and wittiest of their decrees to lye unexecuted: but if in any thing a better ordre might have ben taken, then by them was, there we take fast hold, findyng therin many faultes. Manye tymes have I chaunced upon such proude, leude, overthwarte and waywarde judgementes,[4] yea, and once in England:

Triptakers[3]

Parcial judgementes

[1] Here (unusually) the word means "act" or "behave."

[2] Dizzards, blockheads. "The friable and grumous, dizzards both," writes Mr. Meredith, nobly if obscurely in his ode, "Napoleon."

[3] Those who like to catch other men tripping—quibblers.

[4] "Lewd" means "ignorant"—"lay," as opposed to "learned." "Overthwart" means "perverse," or "wilfully contrary."

I prai you Syr (quod I) have you ben in our countrey?

Yea forsoth (quod he) and there I taried for the space of iiii. or v. monethes together, not longe after the insurrection, that the Westerne English men made agaynst their Kyng, which by their owne miserable and pitiful slaughter was suppressed and ended.[1] In the meane season I was muche bounde and beholdynge to the righte reverende father, Jhon Morton, Archebishop and Cardinall of Canterbury, and at that time also lorde Chauncelloure of Englande:[2] a man, Mayster Peter, (for Mayster More knoweth already that I wyll saye) not more honorable for his authoritie, then for his prudence and vertue. He was of a meane[3] stature, and though stricken in age, yet bare he his bodye upright. In his face did shine such an amiable reverence, as was pleasaunte to beholde. Gentill in communication, yet earnest, and sage. He had great delite manye times with roughe speache to his sewters,[4] to prove, but withoute harme, what prompte witte and what bolde spirite were in every man. In the which, as in a vertue much agreinge with his nature, so that therewith were not joyned impudency, he toke greate delectatyon. And the

Cardinall Morton

[1] Henry VII.'s excessive taxation generally, and in particular a tax for a war against Scotland which was helping Perkin Warbeck, caused an insurrection in Cornwall under Flammock and Joseph. The western men marched against London, and were defeated at Blackheath, with much slaughter and subsequent execution (1497).

[2] John Morton, known to every schoolboy by the dilemma of "Morton's fork," rose to fame in the State in the time of Edward IV., when he became Bishop of Ely and Lord Chancellor. Richard III. imprisoned him, but he escaped to Harry of Richmond, and proposed the marriage between that prince and Elizabeth of York. After the accession of Henry, he became Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal, and interests us chiefly as having been the patron of More. The "fork," by the way, should be ascribed to Fox, and not to Morton.

[3] Not "insignificant," but "medium," or "average."

[4] Suitors.

same person, as apte and mete to have an administratyon in the weale publique, he dyd lovingly embrace. In his speche he was fyne, eloquent and pytthye. In the lawe he had profounde knowledge, in witte he was incomparable, and in memory wonderful excellente. These qualityes, which in hym were by nature singular, he by learnynge and use had made perfecte. The Kynge put muche truste in his counsel, the weale publyque also in a maner leaned unto hym, when I was there. For even in the chiefe of his youth[1] he was taken from schole into the Courte, and there passed all his tyme in much trouble and busines, beyng continually tumbled and tossed in the waves of dyvers mysfortunes and adversities. And so by many and greate daungers he lerned the experience of the worlde, whiche so beinge learned can not easely be forgotten. It chaunced on a certayne daye, when I sate at his table, there was also a certayne laye man cunnynge in the lawes of youre Realme. Who, I can not tell wherof takynge occasion, began diligently and earnestly to prayse that strayte and rygorous justice, which at that tyme was there executed upon fellones, who, as he sayde, were for the moste parte xx. hanged together upon one gallowes. And, seyng so fewe escaped punyshement, he sayde he coulde not chuse, but greatly wonder and marvel, howe and by what evil lucke it shold so come to passe, that theves nevertheles were in every place so ryffe and so rancke.[2] Naye, Syr, quod I (for I durst boldely speake my minde before the Cardinal) marvel nothinge here at: for this punyshment of theves passeth the limites of Justice, and is also very hurtefull to the weale publique. For it is to extreame and cruel a punishment for thefte, and yet not sufficient to refrayne

Of lawes not made according to equitie

[1] For even as a mere lad.

[2] "So rife and so rank," that is, found everywhere and in great numbers.

and withhold men from thefte. For simple thefte is not so great an offense, that it owght to be punished with death. Neither ther is any punishment so horrible, that it can kepe them from stealynge, which have no other craft, wherby to get their living. Therfore in this poynte, not you onlye, but also the most part of the world, be like evyll scholemaisters, which be readyer to beate, then to teache, their scholers. For great and horrible punishmentes be appointed for theves, whereas much rather provision should have ben made, that there were some meanes, whereby they myght get their living, so that no man shoulde be dryven to this extreme necessitie, firste to steale, and then to dye. Yes (quod he) this matter is wel ynough provided for already. There be handy craftes, there is husbandrye to gette their livynge by, if they would not willingly be nought. Nay, quod I, you shall not skape so: for first of all, I wyll speake nothynge of them, that come home oute of the warres, maymed and lame, as not longe ago, oute of Blackeheath fielde, and a litell before that, out of the warres in Fraunce:[1] suche, I saye, as put their lives in jeoperdye for the weale publiques or the kynges sake, and by reason of weakenesse and lamenesse be not hable to occupye their olde craftes, and be to aged to lerne new: of them I wyll speake nothing, forasmuch as warres have their ordinarie recourse.[2] But let us considre those thinges that chaunce daily before our eyes. First there is a great numbre of gentlemen, which can not be content to live idle themselves, lyke

By what meanes ther might be fewer theves and robbers

H.

[1] Blackheath field is the Cornish rising referred to above. The French war is the brief, almost farcical, expedition against Charles VIII. in 1492. The right to Brittany was in dispute, and Henry VII. joined the anti-French party, chief of whom were Ferdinand of Spain and Maximilian of Austria. Henry agreed to cease from hostilities by the Treaty of Etaples, his chief inducement being a large gift of money.

[2] Since wars recur again. Robinson puts it more picturesquely in his first edition, "because war, like the tide, ebbeth and floweth."

dorres,[1] of that whiche other have laboured for: their tenauntes I meane, whom they polle[2] and shave to the quicke, by reisyng their rentes (for this onlye poynte of frugalitie do they use, men els through their lavasse[3] and prodigall spendynge, hable to brynge theymselfes to verye beggerye) these gentlemen, I say, do not only live in idlenesse themselves, but also carrye about with them at their tailes a great flocke or traine of idle and loyterynge servyngmen, which never learned any craft wherby to gette their livynges. These men as sone as their mayster is dead, or be sicke themselfes, be incontinent thrust out of dores. For gentlemen hadde rather keepe idle persones, then sicke men, and many times the dead mans heyre is not hable to mainteine so great a house, and kepe so many serving men as his father dyd. Then in the meane season they that be thus destitute of service, either starve for honger, or manfullye playe the theves. For what would you have them to do? When they have wandred abrode so longe, untyl they have worne thredebare their apparell, and also appaired[4] their helth, then gentlemen because of their pale and sickely faces, and patched cotes, will not take them into service. And husbandmen dare not set them a worke: Knowynge wel ynoughe that he is nothing mete to doe trewe and faythful service to a poore man wyth a spade and a mattoke for small wages and hard fare, whyche beynge deyntely and tenderly pampered up in ydilnes and pleasure, was wont with a sworde and a buckler by hys syde to jette[5]

Idlenesse the mother of theves

Landlordes by the wai checked for rentraisyng

Of idle servyng men come theves

[1] Drones. "Dor-bug" is a term used for certain insects in the United States.

[2] To poll is to cut the hair.

[3] Lavish.

[4] Impaired.

[5] To swagger boastfully, or to strut. So in *Cymbeline*—

"the gates of monarchs
Are arched so high that giants may jet through
And keep their impious turbans on."

through the strete with a bragginge loke, and to thynke hym selfe to good to be anye mans mate. Naye, by saynt Mary sir (quod the lawier) not so. For this kinde of men muste we make moste of. For in them as men of stowter stomackes,[1] bolder spirites, and manlyer courages then handycraftes men and plowemen be, doth consiste the whole powre, strength and puissaunce of oure army, when we must fight in battayle. Forsothe, sir, aswell you myghte saye (quod I) that for warres sake you muste cheryshe theves. For suerly you shall never lacke theves, whyles you have them. No nor theves be not the most false and faynt harted soldiers, nor souldiours be not the cowardleste theves: so wel thees ii. craftes agree together. But this faulte, though it be much used amonge you, yet is it not peculiar to you only, but commen also almoste to all nations. Yet Fraunce besides this is troubled and infected with a much sorer plage. The whole royalme is fylled and besieged with hiered souldiours in peace tyme (yf that bee peace) whyche be brought in under the same colour and pretense, that hath persuaded you to kepe these ydell servynge men. For thies wysefooles and verye archedoltes[2] thought the wealthe of the whole countrey herin to consist, if there were ever in a redinesse a stronge and a sure garrison, specially of old practised souldiours, for they put no trust at all in men unexercised. And therfore they must be forced to seke for warre, to the ende thei may ever have practised souldiours and cunnyng mansleiers, lest that (as it is pretely sayde of Salust)[3] their handes and their mindes through idlenes or lacke of exercise, should waxe dul. But howe pernitious and pestilente a thyng it is to maintayne suche

Betwene soldiers and theves smal diversitie

[1] Courage, will, disposition.

[2] "Wisefools and archdolts" translate More's "morosophi" (nempe quod morosophis visum est, etc.), "morosophi" being "fool-philosophers."

[3] "Prettily said by Sallust," we should say.

beastes, the Frenche men, by their owne harmes have learned, and the examples of the Romaynes, Carthaginiens, Syriens, and of manye other countreyes doo manifestly declare. For not onlye the Empire, but also the fieldes and Cities of all these, by divers ocasions have been overrunned and destroyed of their owne armies before hande had in a redinesse. Now how unnecessary a thinge this is, hereby it maye appeare: that the Frenche souldiours, which from their youth have ben practised and inured in feates of armes, do not cracke[1] nor advaunce themselfes to have very often gotte the upper hand and maistry of your new made and unpractised souldiours. But in this poynte I wyll not use many woordes, leste perchaunce I maye seeme to flatter you. No, nor those same handy crafte men of yours in Cities, nor yet the rude and uplandish[2] plowmen of the countreye, are not supposed to be greatly affrayde of your gentlemens idle servyngmen, unlesse it be suche as be not of body or stature correspondent to their strength and courage, or els whose bolde stomakes be discouraged throughe povertie. Thus you may see, that it is not to be feared lest they shoulde be effeminated, if thei were brought up in good craftes and laboursome woorkes, whereby to gette their livynges, whose stoute and sturdye bodyes (for gentlemen vouchsafe to corrupte and spill[3] none but picked and chosen men) now either by reason of rest and idlenesse be brought to weakenesse: or els by to easy and womanly exercises be made feble, and unhable to endure hardnesse. Truly howe so ever the case standeth, thys me thinketh is nothing avayleable[4] to the weale publique,

What inconveniences cometh by continuall garisons of souldiours

[1] Boast. So in *Love's Labour's Lost*—"And Ethiopes of their sweet complexions crack."

[2] Belonging to out-of-the-way parts, and therefore ignorant. We still use "outlandish."

[3] To destroy. So Lear invites the thunder to "spill at once" all incipient men.

[4] Not with its present diluted meaning, but "profitable."

for warre sake, which you never have, but when you wyl your selfes, to kepe and mainteyn an unnumerable flocke of that sort of men, that be so troublesome and noyous[1] in peace, wherof you ought to have a thowsand times more regarde, then of warre. But yet this is not only the necessary cause of stealing. There is an other, whych, as I suppose, is proper and peculiar to you Englishmen alone. What is that, quod the Cardinal? forsoth my lorde (quod I) your shepe that were wont to be so meke and tame, and so smal eaters, now, as I heare saye, be become so great devowerers and so wylde, that they eate up, and swallow downe the very men them selfes.[2] They consume, destroye, and devoure whole fieldes, howses, and cities. For looke in what partes of the realme doth growe the fynest and therfore dearest woll, there noblemen and gentlemen: yea and certeyn Abbottes, holy men no doubt, not contenting them selfes with the yearely revenues and profytes, that were wont to grow to theyr forefathers and predecessours of their landes, nor beynge content that they live in rest and pleasure nothinge profiting, yea much noyinge the weale publique: leave no grounde for tillage, thei inclose al into pastures: thei throw doune houses: they plucke downe townes, and leave nothing standynge, but only the churche to be made a shepehowse. And as thoughe you loste no small quantity of grounde[3] by

English shepe devourers of men

[1] Harmful. So in *Hamlet*—

> "The single and peculiar life is bound . . .
> With all the strength and armour of the mind
> To keep itself from noyance."

Lower we have "noying."

[2] The turning of cultivated land into pasture was bitterly resented by the people. The landowner (as usual) profited, the labourers (also as usual) suffered. The implements rusted, the houses fell to ruins, and where a score of people had subsisted with ease, now were found but a few shepherds.

[3] The sense is: "and as if too little land were consumed by useless enclosures, these evil clergy proceed to destroy more."

forestes, chases, laundes, and parkes, those good holy men turne all dwellinge places and all glebeland into desolation and wildernes. Therfore that one covetous and unsatiable cormaraunte and very plage of his natyve contrey maye compasse aboute and inclose many thousand akers of grounde together within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust owte of their owne, or els either by coveyne[1] and fraude, or by violent oppression they be put besydes it, or by wronges and injuries thei be so weried, that they be compelled to sell all: by one meanes therfore or by other, either by hooke or crooke they muste needes departe awaye, poore, selye,[2] wretched soules, men, women, husbands, wives, fatherlesse children, widowes, wofull mothers, with their yonge babes, and their whole houshold smal in substance and muche in numbre, as husbandrye requireth manye handes. Awaye thei trudge, I say, out of their knowen and accustomed houses, fyndynge no place to reste in. All their housholde stuffe, whiche is verye litle woorthe, thoughe it myght well abide the sale: yet beeynge sodainely thruste oute, they be constrayned to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they have wandered abrode tyll that be spent, what can they then els doo but steale, and then justly pardy[3] be hanged, or els go about beggyng. And yet then also they be caste in prison as vagaboundes, because they go aboute and worke not: whom no man wyl set a worke, though thei never so willyngly profre themselves therto. For one Shephearde or Heardman is ynoughe to eate up that grounde with cattel, to the occupiyng wherof aboute husbandrye manye handes were requisite. And this

Shepe maisters decayers of husbandrye

The decaye of husbandry causeth beggery, which is the mother of vagaboundes and theves

[1] Fraudulent conspiracy.

[2] Innocent or simple. "It is silly sooth," says the Duke, in *Twelfth Night*, of the clown's simple song.

[3] Par Dieu. By God, verily.

is also the cause why victualles be now in many places dearer. Yea, besides this the price of wolle is so rysen, that poore folkes, which were wont to worke it and make cloth therof, be nowe hable to bye none at all. And by thys meanes verye manye be forced to forsake worke, and to geve them selves to idelnesse. For after that so much grounde was inclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of shepe dyed of the rotte, suche vengeaunce God toke of their inordinate and unsaciable covetousnes, sendinge amonge the shepe that pestiferous morrein, whiche much more justely shoulde have fallen on the shepemasters owne heades. And though the number of shepe increase never so faste, yet the price falleth not one myte, because there be so fewe sellers. For they be almooste all comen into a few riche mennes handes, whome no neade forceth to sell before they lust, and they luste not before they maye sell as deare as they luste. Now the same cause bringeth in like dearth of the other kindes of cattell, yea and that so much the more, bicause that after fermes[1] plucked downe and husbandry decaied, there is no man that passethe for[2] the breadynge of younge stoore.[3] For these riche men brynge not up the yonge ones of greate cattel as they do lambes. But first they bie them abrode verie chepe, and afterward when they be fatted in their pastures, they sell them agayne excedynge deare. And therefore (as I suppose) the whole incommoditie hereof is not yet felte. For yet they make dearth[4] onely in those places, where they sell. But when they shall fetche them away from thence wheare they be bredde faster then they can be broughte up: then

The cause of dearth of victuales

What inconvenience commeth of dearth of wolle

The cause of dearth of wol

Dearth of cattel with the cause thereof

[1] Farms.
[2] Cares about. So Marlowe's *Edward II.*, "I pass not for their anger."
[3] Young stock.
[4] "Make dearth" means "create dearness."

shall there also be felte greate dearth, stoore beginning there to faile, where the ware is boughte. Thus the unreasonable covetousnes of a few hath turned that thing to the utter undoing of your ylande, in the whiche thynge the cheife felicitie of your realme did consist. For this greate dearth of victualles causeth men to kepe as litle houses, and as smale hospitalitie as they possible maye, and to put away their servauntes: whether, I pray you, but a beggynge:[1] or elles (whyche these gentell bloudes and stoute stomackes wyll sooner set their myndes unto) a stealing? Nowe to amende the matter, to this wretched beggerye and miserable povertie is joyned greate wantonnes, importunate superfluitie and excessive riote. For not only gentle mennes servauntes, but also handicrafe men: yea and almooste the ploughmen of the country, with al other sortes of people, use muche straunge and proude newefanglenes in their apparell, and to muche prodigall riotte and sumptuous fare at their table. Nowe bawdes, queines,[2] whoores, harlottes, strumpettes, brothelhouses, stewes, and yet another stewes, wynetavernes, ale houses and tiplinge houses, with so manye noughtie, lewde, and unlawfull games, as dyce, cardes, tables, tennis, boules, coytes,[3] do not all these sende the haunters of them streyghte a stealynge when theyr money is gone? Caste oute these pernicyous abhominations, make a lawe, that they, whiche plucked downe fermes, and townes of husbandrie,[4] shal reedifie them, or els yelde and uprender the possession therof to suche as wil go to the cost

Dearth of victuales is the decay of house kepinge; whereof ensueth beggery and thefte

Excesse in apparell and diet a mainteiner of beggery and thefte

Baudes, whores, winetavernes, alehouses, and unlawfull games be very mothers of theves

[1] They dismiss their servants—where else, save to beggary?
[2] Queans. Loose women. [3] Quoits.
[4] A farm with all its surrounding buildings. This is the oldest sense of "town."

of buylding them anewe. Suffer not these riche men to bie up al, to ingrosse, and forstalle,[1] and with their monopolie to kepe the market alone as please them. Let not so many be brought up in idelnes, let husbandry and tillage be restored, let clotheworkinge be renewed, that ther may be honest labours for this idell sort to passe their tyme in profitablye, whiche hitherto either povertie hath caused to be theves, or elles nowe be either vagabondes, or idel serving men, and shortelye wilbe theves. Doubtles onles you finde a remedy for these enormities, you shall in vaine advaunce your selves[2] of executing justice upon fellons, For this justice is more beautiful in apperaunce, and more florishynge to the shewe, then either juste or profitable. For by suffring your youthe wantonlie and viciously to be brought up, and to be infected, even frome theyr tender age, by litle and litle with vice: then a goddes name[3] to be punished, when they commit the same faultes after being come to mans state, which from their youthe they were ever like to do: In this pointe, I praye you, what other thing do you, then make theves and then punish them?[4] Now as I was thus speakinge, the Lawier began to make hym selfe readie to answere, and was determined with hym selfe to use the common fashion and trade of disputers, whiche be more diligent in rehersinge, then answering, as thinking the memorie worthy of the chief praise. In dede sir, quod he, you have said wel, being but a straunger, and one that myghte rather heare some thing of these matters,[5] then have any

Rich men ingrossers and forestallers

The corrupte education of youth a mother of thevery

[1] To monopolize and make corners. [2] Boast yourselves.
[3] In God's name; or, as we might say, good heavens.
[4] The spelling (first "then" = "than") obscures the excellence of the judgment. "What else do you do but make thieves, and then punish them."
[5] The lawyer, after the fashion of his kind, pronounces that Raphael's duty as a layman is to listen, and not to instruct.

exacte or perfecte knowledge of the same, as I wil incontinent by open proffe make manifest and plaine. For firste I will reherse in order all that you have sayde: then I wyll declare wherein you be deceaved, through lacke of knowledge, in all oure fashions, maners and customes: and last of all I will aunswere youre argumentes and confute them every one. Firste therefore I wyll begynne where I promysed. Foure thynges you seemed to me. Holde your peace, quod the Cardinall[1]: for it appeareth that you will make no shorte aunswere, which make suche a beginnynge. Wherefore at this time you shall not take the paynes to make youre aunswere, but kepe it to youre nexte meatynge, which I woulde be righte glad, that it might be even to morrowe next, onles either you or mayster Raphael have any earnest let.[2] But nowe mayster Raphael, I woulde verye gladlye heare of you, why you thinke thefte not worthye to be punished with deathe, or what other punishemente you can devise more expedient to the weale publique. For I am sure you are not of that minde, that you woulde have thefte escape unpunished. For yf nowe the extreme punishemente of deathe can not cause them to leave stealinge, then yf ruffians and robbers shoulde be suer of their lyves; what violence, what feare were hable to holde their handes from robbinge, whiche woulde take the mitigation of the punishmente, as a verye provocation to the mischiefe? Suerlye my lorde, quod I, I thinke it not ryght nor justice, that the losse of money should cause the losse of mans life. For myne opinion is, that all the goodes in the worlde are

He is worthelie put to silence that is to full of wordes

That thefte ought not to be punished by death

[1] The Latin text has a marginal note to the effect that this interruption of wordy persons was a habit of the Cardinal's.

[2] Real impediment. "Let," both as noun and verb, is common in this sense in our older literature. "I'll make a ghost of him that lets me," says Hamlet to those who were trying to prevent his going with the ghost of his father.

not hable to countervayle mans life. But if they would thus say; that the breakynge of justice, and the transgression of the lawes is recompensed with this punishment, and not the losse of the money, then why maye not this extreme and rigorous justice wel be called plaine injurie? For so cruell governaunce, so streite rules,[1] and unmercyful lawes be not allowable, that if a small offense be committed, by and by[2] the sword should be drawen: nor so stoical ordinaunces are to be borne withall, as to counte al offenses of suche equalitie, that the killing of a man, or the takyng of his money from him were both a matter,[3] and the one no more heinous offense then the other: betwene the whyche two, yf we have anye respecte to equitie, no similitude or equalitie consisteth. God commaundeth us that we shall not kill. And be we then so hastie to kill a man for takinge a litle money? And if any man woulde understande killing by this commaundement of God to be forbidden after no larger wise, then mans constitutions define killynge to be lawfull, then whye maye it not lykewise by mans constitutions be determined after what sort whordome, fornication and perjurie may be lawfull? For whereas, by the permission of God, no man hath power to kil neither himself, nor yet anye other man: then yf a lawe made by the consent of men, concerninge slaughter of men, oughte to be of suche strengthe, force, and vertue, that they which contrarie to the commaundement of God

Straite lawes not allowable

That mans law ought not to be prejudicial to gods law

[1] "Such strait or strict rules." The Latin has "tam Manliana imperia," the adjective arising from the rough justice of Lucius Manlius Torquatus, dictator in the fourth century B.C.

[2] "By and by" here means immediately. In southern English of to-day, "by and by" and "presently" both mean "after a time." In other parts it is still possible to hear them used as equivalent to "immediately."

[3] Here "a" means "one," and the whole expression means "both of equal rank." Compare the colloquialism "all one."

have killed those, whom this constitution of man commaunded to be killed, be cleane quite and exempte out of the bondes and daunger[1] of Gods commaundement: shall it not then by this reason folow, that the power of Gods commaundemente shall extende no further, then mans lawe doeth define, and permitte? And so shall it come to passe, that in like maner mans constitutions in al thinges shal determine how farre the observation of all Gods commaundementes shall extende. To be shorte, Moyses law, though it were ungentle and sharpe, as a law that was geven to bondmen; yea, and them very obstinate, stubborne, and styfnecked: yet it punished thefte by the purse, and not wyth death. And let us not thinke that God in the newe law of clemencie and mercye, under the whiche he ruleth us with fatherlie gentlenes, as his deare children, hath geven us greater scoupe and licence to the execution of cruelte, one upon another. Nowe ye have heard the reasons whereby, I am persuaded that this punishement is unlawful. Furthermore I thinke ther is no body that knoweth not, how unreasonable, yea, how pernitious a thinge it is to the weale publike, that a thefe and an homicide or murderer, should suffer equall and like punishment. For the thefe seynge that man, that is condempned for thefte in no less jeoperdie, nor judged to no lesse punishment, then him that is convicte of manslaughter; throughe this cogitation onelye he is strongly and forciblye provoked, and in a maner constreined to kill him whome els he woulde have but robbed. For the murder beynge ones done, he is in lesse feare, and in more hoope that the deede shall not be bewrayed or

Thefte in the olde lawe not punished by death

What inconvenience ensueth of punishynge theft with death

[1] "Danger" here means "jurisdiction," and implies liability to receive punishment. So in the trial scene of the *Merchant of Venice*, Portia says to Antonio, "You stand within his [Shylock's] danger, do you not?"

knowen, seynge the partye is nowe deade, and rydde[1] oute of the waye, which onelye[2] mighte have uttered and disclosed it. But if he chaunce to be taken and discrived:[3] yet he is in no more daunger and jeoperdie,then if he had committed but single fellonye. Therfore whiles we go about with suche crueltie to make theves aferd, we provoke them to kil good men. Now as touchinge this question, what punishemente were more commodious and better; that truelye in my judgemente is easier to be founde, then what punishment might be wurse. For why should we doubt that to be a good and a profytable waye for the punishemente of offendours, whiche we knowe did in tymes paste so longe please the Romaines, men in the administration of a weale publique mooste experte, politique, and cunnynge? Suche as amonge them were convicte of greate and heynous trespaces, them they condempned into stone quarries, and into mienes to digge mettalle, there to be kepte in cheynes all the dayes of their life. But as concernying this matter, I allow[4] the ordinaunce of no nation so wel as that which I sawe, whiles I travailed abroade aboute the worlde, used in Persia amonge the people that commenly be called the Polylerites.[5] Whose land is both large and ample, and also well and wittelye governed: and the people in all conditions free and ruled by their owne lawes, saving that they paye a yearelye tribute to the great kinge of Persia. But bicause they be farre from the sea, compassed and inclosed almoste rounde aboute with hyghe

Punishing of theft by deathe causeth the thefe to be a murtherer

What lawfull punishment may be devised for theft

Howe the Romayns punished theft

A worthy and commendable punishment of theves in the weale publique of the Polylerites in Persia

[1] Removed.
[2] Alone.
[3] Discovered, detected.
[4] Praise.
[5] An imaginary race, deriving their name from πολὺς = much, and λῆρος = nonsense.

mountaines, and do content them selves with the fruites of their owne lande, which is of it selfe verye fertile and frutfull: for this cause neither they go to other countreis, nor other come to them. And accordynge to the olde custome of the land, they desire not to enlarge the boundes of their dominions: and those that they have by reason of the highe hilles be easely defended: and the tribute whiche they paye to their chiefe lord and kinge, setteth them quite[1] and free from warfare. Thus their life is commodious rather then gallante,[2] and may better be called happie or welthy, then notable or famous. For they be not knowen as much as by name, I suppose saving only to theyr next neighbours and borderes. They that in this lande be atteinted and convict of felony, make restitution of that which they stole, to the right owner, and not (as they do in other landes) to the kinge: whome they thinke to have no more righte to the thiefstolen thinge, than the thiefe him selfe hathe. But if the thing be loste or made away, then the value of it is paide of the gooddes of such offenders, which els remaineth all whole to their wives and children. And they them selves be condempned to be common laborers, and, oneles the theft be verie heinous, they be neyther locked in prison, nor fettered in gives,[3] but be untied and go at large, laboring in the common workes. They that refuse labour, or go slowly and slacklye to their worke, be not onelye tied in cheynes, but also pricked forward with stripes.[4] But beinge diligente aboute theyr worke they live without checke or rebuke. Every night they be called in by name, and be locked in theyr chambers. Beside their dayly labour, their

A privie nippe for them that do otherwise

Theves condempned to be commen labourers

[1] Quit.
[2] Showy. Compare the similar use of "brave."
[3] Gyves.
[4] This is rather inexact. The sense is this: the laggards are punished, not so much with imprisonment as with stripes.

life is nothing hard or incommodious. Their fare is indifferent good,[1] borne at the charges of the weale publike, bicause they be commen servauntes to the commen wealth. But their charges in all places of the lande is not borne alike. For in some partes that which is bestowed upon them is gathered of almes. And thoughe that waye be uncertein, yet the people be so ful of mercy and pitie, that none is found more profitable or plentifull. In some places certein landes be appointed hereunto: of the revenewes whereof they be mainteined. And in some places everye man geveth a certein tribute for the same use and purpose. Againe in some partes of the land these serving men (for so be these dampned[2] persons called) do no common worke, but as everye private man nedeth laborours, so he commeth into the markette place, and there hierethe some of them for meate and drinke, and a certeine limitted waiges by the daye, sumwhat cheper then he shoulde hire a free man. It is also lawefull for them to chastice the slouthe of these servinge men with stripes. By this meanes they never lacke worke, and besides the gayninge of their meate and drinke, everye one of them bringeth dailie some thing into the common treasourie. All and every one of them be apparailed in one coloure. Their heades be not polled or shaven, but rounded a lytle above the eares. And the typpe of the one eare is cut of. Every one of them maye take meate and drinke of their frendes, and also a coate of their owne colloure: but to receive money is deathe, as well to the gever, as to the receivoure. And no lesse jeoperdie it is for a free man to receive moneye of a seruynge manne for anye maner of cause: and lykewise for servinge men to touche weapons. The servinge men

Serving men

[1] Fairly good. So *Hamlet*, "I am myself indifferent honest."
[2] Condemned.

of every severall shire be distincte and knowen frome other by their severall and distincte badges: whiche to caste awaye is death: as it is also to be sene oute of the precincte of their owne shire, or to talke with a servinge man of anothe shyre. And it is no lesse daunger to them, for to intende to runne awaye, then to do it in dede. Yea and to conceal suche an enterpries in a servinge man it is deathe, in a free man servitude. Of the contrarie parte, to him that openeth and uttereth[1] suche counselles, be decreed large giftes: to a free man a great some of money, to a serving man freedome: and to them bothe forgevenes and pardone of that they were of counsell in that pretence.[2] So that it can never be so good for them to go forewarde in their evyll purpose, as by repentaunce to tourne backe. This is the lawe and order in this behalfe, as I have shewed you. Wherein what humanitie is used, howe farre it is frome crueltie, and howe commodyous it is, you do playnelye perceave: for asmuche as the ende of their wrath and punyshemente intendeth nothynge elles, but the destruction of vices, and savynge of menne: wyth so usynge, and ordering them, that they can not chuse but be good, and what harme so ever they did before, in the residewe of theyr life to make amendes for the same. Moreover it is so litle feared, that they shoulde tourne againe to their vicious conditions, that wayefaringe men wyll for their savegarde chuse them to theyr guydes[3] before any other, in every sheire chaunging and taking new. For if they would committe robbery, they have nothinge aboute them meate for that purpose. They may touch no weapons: money founde aboute them shoulde betraie the robbery. They shoulde be no

An evell intent estemed as the dede

The right end and intent of punishement

[1] "Openeth and uttereth" means "makes known."
[2] For their complicity in the arrangement.
[3] *I.e.* For their guides. Choose them as guides.

sooner taken with the manêr,[1] but furthwith they shoulde be punished. Neither they can have any hope at all to skape awaye by flienge. For howe should a man, that in no parte of his apparell is like other men, flye prevelie and unknowen, onles he woulde runne awaye naked? Howebeit so also flyinge he shoulde be discrived[2] by the roundyng of his heade, and his eare marke. But it is a thinge to be doubted,[3] that they will laye theyr heddes together, and conspire againste the weale publique. No no I warrante you. For the servyng men of one sheire alone coulde never hoope to bringe to passe such an enterprise, without sollicitinge, entysinge, and allurynge the servinge men of manye other shieres to take their partes. Whiche thinge is to them so impossible, that they maye not as much as speake or talke togethers, or salute one an other. No it is not to be thoughte that they woulde make theyr owne countreymen and companions of their counsell in suche a matter,[4] whiche they knowe well should be jeopardie to the concelour[5] thereof, and great commoditie and goodnes to the opener and detectour of the same. Whereas on the other parte, there is none of them all hopeles or in dispaire to recover againe his former estate of fredome, by humble obedience, by paciente suffringe, and by geving good tokens and likelyhoode of himselfe, that he wyll ever after that, lyve like a trewe and an honest man. For everye yeare divers of them be restored to their freedome: throughe the commendation of their patience. Whan I had thus

[1] "With the manner" = in the act (manus = hand). Thus in *Henry IV.* (Part I.), Prince Harry says to Falstaff, "Oh, villain, thou stolest a cup of sack eighteen years ago, and wert taken with the manner."

[2] Discovered (as above).

[3] The sense is really this, "But, it may be urged, there is the fear that they, etc." For to "doubt" = to "fear," see *Hamlet*, "My father's spirit in arms! I doubt some foul play."

[4] They would confide in their countrymen and companions.

[5] Concealer.

spoken, sayinge moreover that I coulde see no cause why this ordre might not be had in Englande with muche more profyte, then the Justice whiche the lawyer so heighly praysed: Naye, quod the lawier, this coulde never be so stablyshed in Englande, but that it must nedes bringe the weale publike into great jeoperdie and hasarde. And as he was thus sayinge, he shaked his heade, and make a wrie mouthe, and so he helde his peace. And all that were there present, with one assent agreed to his sayinge. Well, quod the Cardinall, yet it were harde to judge withoute a proffe,[1] whether this order would do wel here or no. But when the sentence of death is geven, if than the kinge shoulde commaunde execution to be defferred and spared, and would prove this order and fassion: takinge awaye the priviliges of all saintuaries:[2] if then the profe shoulde declare the thinge to be good and profitable, than it were wel done that it were stablished: els the condempned and reprived persons may as wel and as justly be put to death after this profe, as when they were first cast.[3] Neither any jeoperdie can in the meane space growe herof. Yea, and me thynketh that these vagaboundes may very wel be ordered after the same fashion, against whom we have hitherto made so many lawes, and so litle prevailed. When the Cardinall had thus saide, than every man gave greate praise to my sayinges, whiche a litle before they had disallowed. But moost of al was estemed that which was spoken of vagaboundes, bicause it was the Cardinalles owne addition. I can not tell whether it were best to reherse the communication that

Vagaboundes

[1] Proof.

[2] The right of sanctuary was the right an accused person had of remaining unmolested within the precincts of a church. Compare the Jewish cities of refuge, and the flight of Adonijah and Joab to the Tabernacle. The privilege of sanctuary was much abused.

[3] Condemned.

folowed, for it was not very sad.[1] But yet you shall heare it, for there was no evil in it, and partlye it parteined to the matter before saide. There chaunced to stand by a certein jesting parasite,[2] or scoffer, which wold[3] seme to resemble and counterfeit the foole. But he did in such wise counterfeit, that he was almost the very same in dede that he labored to represent: he so studied with wordes and sayinges brought furth so out of time and place to make sporte and move laughter, that he himselfe was oftener laughed at then his jestes were. Yet the foolishe fellowe brought out now and then such indifferent[4] and reasonable stuffe, that he made the proverbe true, which saieth: he that shoteth oft, at the last shal hit the mark.[5] So that when one of the company sayd, that throughe my communication a good order was founde for theves, and that the Cardinal also had wel provided for vagaboundes, so that only remained some good provision to be made for them that through sicknes and age were fallen into povertie, and were become so impotent and unweldie,[6] that they were not hable to worke for their livinge: Tushe (quod he) let me alone with them: you shall se me do well ynough with them. For I had rather then any good, that this kinde of people were driven sumwher oute of my sight, they have so sore troubled me manye times and ofte, when they have wyth their lamentable teares begged money of me: and yet they coulde never to my mynde so tune their songe, that thereby they ever got of me one farthinge. For ever more the one of

The wavering judgementes of flatterers

Sicke, aged, impotent persons and beggers

[1] Serious, earnest. The Latin is positive: "erant enim ridicula."
[2] A hanger-on. [3] Which would = who wished to.
[4] In the sense of not mattering, or harmless.
[5] Literally, "by frequent throwing you will sometimes throw a Venus." Venus being the name of the highest throw at dice.
[6] Not able to "wield" or work. The modern sense of "bulky," "awkward," does not apply here.

these two chaunced: either that I would not, or els that I could not, bicause I had it not. Therfore now they be waxed wise. For when they see me go by, bicause they will not leese[1] theyr labour, they let me passe and saye not one worde to me. So they loke for nothinge of me, no in good sothe no more, then yf I were a priest, or a monke. But I will make a lawe, that all these beggers shall be distributed, and bestowed into houses of religion. The men shal be made laye brethren,[2] as they call them, and the women nunnes. Hereat the Cardinal smiled, and allowed it in jest, yea and all the residue in good earnest. But a certeine freare,[3] graduate in divinitie, tooke suche pleasure and delite in this jeste of priestes and monkes, that he also beynge elles[4] a man of grislie and sterne gravitie, began merilie and wantonlye to jeste and taunt. Naye, quod he, you shall not so be ridde and dispatched of beggers, oneles you make some provision also for us frears. Why, quod the jester, that is done alreadie, for my lord him selfe set a verye good order for you, when he decreed that vagaboundes should be kept straite and set to worke: for you be the greatest and veriest vagaboundes that be. This jest also, when they sawe the Cardinall not disprove it, every man toke it gladly, savyng onelye the frear. For he (and that no marveile) beynge thus touched on the quicke, and hit on the gaule,[5] so fret, so fumed,

A commen proverbe amonge beggers

A mery talke between a Frere and a foole

[1] Lose.

[2] Inmates of a monastery who did not take orders, but were employed as servants.

[3] Friar. Friars, being vowed to poverty, were beggars; hence the jest of the graduate in divinity. Being beggars they were often nuisances; hence the retort of the fool.

[4] Else, otherwise.

[5] The Latin has "tali profusus aceto" = "drenched with such vinegar." More gives a reference to Horace for the phrase. "Hit on the gall" is an allusion to hitting a horse on a sore place. So now, colloquially, "hit on the raw."

and chafed at it, and was in such a rage, that he could not refraine himselfe from chidinge, skolding, railing, and reviling. He called the fellow ribbalde, villaine, javel,[1] backbiter, sclaunderer, and the childe of perdition: citinge therwith terrible threateninges out of holie Scripture. Then the jestynge scoffer beganne to playe the scoffer in dede, and verely he was good at yt, for he could play a part in that play no man better. Patient youre selfe, good maister Freare, quod he, and be not angrie, for scripture saieth: in youre patience you shall save your soules. Then the Freare (for I will rehearse his own very woordes) No gallous wretche,[2] I am not angrie (quod he) or at the leaste wise, I do not sinne: for the Psalmiste saith, be you angrie, and sinne not. Then the Cardinal spake gently to the freare and desired him to quiete himselfe. No my lorde, quod he, I speak not but of a good zeale as I oughte: for holye men had a good zeale. Wherefore it is sayd: the zeale of thy house hath eaten me. And it is songe in the church: The skorners of Helizeus,[3] whiles he went up into the house of God, felte the zeale[4] of the bald, as peradventure this skorning, villaine ribaulde shall feele. You do it (quod the Cardinall) perchaunce of a good mynde and affection: but me thinketh you should do, I can not tell whether more holilie, certes more wisely, yf you woulde not set youre witte to a fooles witte, and with a foole take

Talke qualified according to the person that speaketh

[1] Rogue, criminal. The word is used in Roper's "Life" to describe More's executioner.

[2] Wretch fit for the gallows.

[3] Helizeus is Elisha, whose scorners (the children who cried "bald-head" at him) were torn by she-bears. Dr. Lupton notes that the canticle referred to is the Hymn of Adam of Saint Victor.

[4] More perpetrates a rather recondite joke here in the Latin text. The friar in his ignorance says, "Zelus calvi sentiunt," instead of "zelum, etc.;" and More puts a note in the margin, saying that the friar uses *zelus* as if it were a neuter noun like *scelus*; *i.e.* he uses *zeal* like *crime*.

in hande a foolishe contention. No forsoeth, my lorde, (quod he) I shoulde not do more wyselye. For Salomon the wyse saieth: Answere a foole accordinge to his folye, like as I do nowe, and do shew him the pit that he shall fall into, yf he take not hede. For if many skorners of Helizeus, whiche was but one bald man, felte the zeale of the balde, how muche more shall one skorner of many frears feele, amonge whom be manye balde men? And we have also the popes bulles, whereby all that mocke and skorne us be excommunicate, suspended, and acursed. The cardinal, seeing that none ende would be made, sent awaie the jester by a prevy becke,[1] and turned the communication to an other matter. Shortly after, when he was risen from the table, he went to heare his sueters,[2] and so dismissed us. Looke maister More wyth how longe and tedious a tale I have kept you, whiche surely I woulde have bene ashamed to have done, but that you so earnestly desired me, and did after such a sorte geve eare unto it, as though you would not that any parcel of that communication should be left out. Whiche thoughe I have done sumwhat briefely, yet could I not chuse but rehearse it, for the judgemente of them, whyche when they had improved[3] and disallowed[4] my sayinges, yet incontinent[5] hearynge the Cardinall allowe them, dyd themselves also approve the same: so impudently flattering him that they wer nothing ashamed to admitte, yea almoste in good earnest, his jesters folish inventions: bicause that he him selfe by smiling at them did seme not to disprove them. So that herby you may right wel perceave how litle the courtiers woulde regarde and esteme me and my sayinges.

[1] A private signal.

[2] Morton was Chancellor as well as Cardinal, and so had legal suits to hear.

[3] The prefix is here negative, and so "improve" is equivalent to "disapprove." Lower we have "disprove" with the same meaning.

[4] Dispraised. [5] Immediately.

I ensure[1] you, maister Raphael, quod I, I toke greate delectacion in hearing you: all thinges that you saide were spoken so wittilye and so pleasauntly. And me thought me selfe to be in the meane time, not onelye at home in my countrei, but also through the pleasaunt remembraunce of the Cardinal, in whose house I was broughte up of a child, to waxe a child againe. And, frend Raphael, though I did beare verye greate love towardes you before, yet seynge you do so earnestlye favoure this man, you wyll not beleve howe muche my love towardes you is nowe increased. But yet, all this notwithstandinge, I can by no meanes chaunge my mind, but that I must nedes beleve, that you, if you be disposed, and can fynde in youre hearte to followe some princes courte, shall with your good counselles greatlye helpe and further the commen wealthe. Wherfore there is nothynge more apperteining to youre dewty, that is to saye, to the dewtie of a good man. For where as your Plato judgeth[2] that weale publiques shall by this meanes atteyne perfecte felicitie, eyther if philosophers be kynges, or elles if kynges geve themselves to the studie of philosophie, how farre I praye you, shall commen wealthes then be frome thys felicitie, yf philosophers wyll vouchesaufe to enstruct kinges with their good counsell?[3]

They be not so unkinde (quod he) but they woulde gladlye do it, yea, manye have done it alreadye in bookes that they have put furthe, if kynges and princes would be willynge and readye to folowe good counsell. But Plato doubtlesse dyd well foresee, oneless kynges themselves woulde applye their

[1] Assure.

[2] The reference is to the oft-quoted passage in "Republic," V. 473.

[3] Dr. Lupton suggests that this should be "will not vouchsafe," corresponding to the "nec dignentur" of the original. But the rhetorical question of the English really amounts to the same thing, the sense being, "Commonwealths will be very near indeed to felicity if philosophers will vouchsafe to instruct the kings."

mindes to the studye of Philosophie, that elles they woulde never thoroughlye allowe the counsell of Philosophers, beynge themselves before even from their tender age infected, and corrupt with perverse, and evill opinions. Whiche thynge Plato hymselfe proved trewe in kinge Dionyse.[1] If I shoulde propose to any kyng wholsome decrees, doynge my endevoure to plucke out of hys mynde the pernicious originall causes of vice and noughtines,[2] thinke you not that I shoulde furthewith either be driven awaye, or elles made a laughyng stocke? Well suppose I were with the Frenche kynge,[3] and there syttinge in his counsell, whiles in that mooste secrete consultation, the kynge him selfe there beynge presente in hys owne personne, they beate their braynes and serche the verye bottomes of their wittes to discusse by what crafte and meanes

[1] For this allusion, see the Life of Dion in Plutarch. Plato came to Sicily to help Dion in the work of training Dionysius the younger, who became tyrant of Syracuse in 367 B.C. The end of the story may be briefly put thus: Dion was banished, and Plato retired. The monarch plunged into unmitigated vice, was driven out by Dion, recaptured the city, became more vicious than ever, was finally driven out, and died in exile. What Plato proved true is that it is impossible for the greatest of philosophers to undo the effect of a king's vicious upbringing.

[2] We use "naughtiness" to signify the minor escapades of children. But the older use is much stronger, and implies thorough wickedness, and (literally) "nothingness" in respect of worth.

[3] It is a mistake to interpret too definitely the projects attributed in the text to the French king. They are merely suppositions, though suggested by facts. Louis XII. became king of France in 1498, and asserted his right by descent to the duchy of Milan and kingdom of Naples. He gained the former with little trouble; but Frederic of Naples appealed to Ferdinand of Spain, who sent him an army. Louis and Ferdinand, however, made a secret agreement, and parted Naples between them. Then the thieves fell out; and in the combats that followed, Naples was lost to France, and Louis was driven from Italy in 1513. His successor, Francis I., who began to reign in 1515 (the year in which "Utopia" was published), naturally turned his attention to the recovery of the lost Italian possessions, and won back Milan in 1515. Naples is called "fugitive Naples," because the French were often seeking to obtain it, when, just as often, it slipped from their grasp. So our Plantagenet kings might have spoken of "fugitive and slippery France."

the kynge maye styl kepe Myllayne, and drawe to him againe fugitive Naples, and then howe to conquere the Venetians, and howe to bringe under his jurisdiction all Italie, then howe to win the dominion of Flaunders, Brabant, and of all Burgundie: with divers other landes, whose kingdomes he hath longe ago in mind and purpose invaded. Here whiles one counselleth to conclude a legue of peace with the Venetians, so longe to endure, as shall be thought mete and expedient for their purpose, and to make them also of their counsell, yea, and besides that to geve them part of the pray, whiche afterwarde, when they have brought theyr purpose about after their owne myndes, they maye require and clayme againe. An other thinketh best to hiere the Germaynes.[1] An other woulde have the favoure of the Swychers[2] wonne with money. An others advyse is to appease the puissaunte power of the Emperoures majestie wyth golde,[3] as with a moste pleasaunte and acceptable sacrifice. Whiles an other gyveth counsell to make peace with the kynge of Arragone,[4] and to restoore unto him hys owne kyngedoms of Navarra,[5] as a full assuraunce of peace. An other commeth in with his five egges,[6] and

The Frenchemen privelie be counseled from the desire of Italie

Launce knightes

[1] The German "free lances" (the Lanzknechte or Lance-knights of the margin) were well known in warfare as professional soldiers, whose services could be obtained for money.

[2] The "Swychers," or Swiss, were also famous as hirelings, and are engagingly represented in modern literature in the person of Captain Bluntschli of "Arms and the Man."

[3] The Emperor Maximilian I. was never above being appeased with gold; but, for all that, was a judicious, and, in many ways, a very enlightened monarch.

[4] Ferdinand, husband of Isabella of Castile, and father of Catherine of Aragon, first wife of Henry VIII.

[5] Navarre, a border state between France and Spain, was a constant bone of contention between the two kingdoms.

[6] The sense is, "another comes pushing in with his silly little plan." Dr. Lupton notes that when it was a complaint that eggs were but four a penny, a dealer who offered five was the type of a hustling merchant.

adviseth to hooke in the kynge of Castell with some hope of affinitie or allyaunce, and to bringe to their parte certeine Pieers of his courte for greate pensions. Whiles they all staye[1] at the chiefeste doubte of all, what to do in the meane time with Englande, and yet agree all in this to make peace with the Englishmen, and with mooste suer and stronge bandes to bynde that weake and feable frendeshippe, so that they muste be called frendes, and hadde in suspicion as enemyes. And that therfore the Skottes[2] muste be hadde in a readines, as it were in a standynge, readie at all occasions, in aunters[3] the Englishmen shoulde sturre never so lytle, incontinent to set upon them. And moreover previlie and secretlye (for openlie it maye not be done by the truce that is taken) privelie therefore I saye to make muche of some Piere of Englande, that is bannished hys countrey, whiche muste cleime title to the crowne of the realme, and affirme hym selfe juste inherytoure thereof,[4] that by this subtill meanes they maye holde to them the kinge, in whome elles they have but small truste and affiaunce. Here I saye, where so great and heyghe matters be in consultation, where so manye noble and wyse menne counsell theyr kynge onelie to warre, here yf I selie man shoulde rise up and will them to tourne over the leafe,[5] and learne

Hence arose the proverb (aimed at officiousness), "You come in with your five eggs a penny, and four of them be rotten."

[1] Hesitate.

[2] For four hundred years the French constantly aimed blows at England through Scotland.

[3] Aunters = adventures, so that "in aunters" is exactly "peradventure" or "perhaps."

[4] The allusion is probably to Perkin Warbeck, who, posing as the banished Duke of York, claimed the throne from Henry VII., and was supported by Charles VIII. of France and by James IV. of Scotland. Earlier, Lambert Simnel, posing as Earl of Warwick, had been supported in his claim to the throne by Margaret of Burgundy.

[5] The Latin has a different metaphor, and means "order them to tack," and so alter their course.

a newe lesson, sayinge that my counsell is not to medle with Italy, but to tarye styll at home, and that the kyngedome of Fraunce alone is almooste greater, then that it maye well be governed of one man: so that the kynge shoulde not nede to studye howe to gette more; and then shoulde propose unto them the decrees of the people that be called the Achoriens,[1] whiche be situate over agaynste the Ilande of Utopia on the southeaste side. These Achoriens ones made warre in their kinges quarrell for to gette him another kingdome, whiche he laide claime unto, and avaunced hymselfe ryghte inheritoure to the crowne thereof, by the tytle of an old aliaunce.[2] At the last when they had gotten it, and sawe that they hadde even as muche vexation and trouble in kepynge it, as they had in gettynge it, and that either their newe conquered subjects by sundrye occasions were makynge daylye insurrections to rebell againste them, or els that other countreis were continuallie with divers inrodes and forragynges[3] invadynge them: so that they were ever fighting either for them, or agaynste them, and never coulde breake up theyr campes: Seyng them selves in the meane season pylled[4] and impoverished: their money caried out of the realme: their own men killed to maintaine the glorye of an other nation: when they had no warre, peace nothynge better then warre, by reason that their people in war had so inured themselves to corrupte and wicked manners: that they had taken a delite and pleasure in robbinge and stealing: that through manslaughter they had gathered boldnes to mischiefe: that thier lawes were had in contempte, and nothing set by[5] or regarded:

A notable example, and worthy to be folowed

[1] The Achorians are another imaginary people, deriving their name from Greek words equivalent to "no place," either because they are non-existent, or else because they did not believe in acquiring extra places (α, privative, χῶρος, place).

[2] Marriage. [3] Foragings or raids. [4] Robbed.

[5] Regarded or esteemed.

that their king beynge troubled with the charge and governaunce of two kingdomes, could not nor was not hable perfectlie to discharge his office towardes them both: seing againe that all these evelles and troubles were endles: at the laste layde their heades together, and like faithfull and lovinge subjectes gave to their kynge free choise and libertie to kepe styll the one of these two kingdomes whether he would: alleginge that he was not hable to kepe both, and that they were mo[1] then might well be governed of halfe a king: forasmuche as no man woulde be content to take him for his mulettour,[2] that kepeth an other mans moyles[3] besydes his. So this good prince was constreyned to be content with his olde kyngedome and to geve over the newe to one of his frendes. Who shortelye after was violentlie driven out. Furthermore if I shoulde declare unto them, that all this busie preparaunce to warre, wherby so many nations for his sake[4] should be brought into a troublesome hurlei-burley,[5] when all his coffers were emptied, his treasures wasted, and his people destroied, should at the length through some mischance be in vaine and to none effect: and that therfore it were best for him to content him selfe with his owne kingedome of Fraunce, as his forfathers and predecessours did before him: to make much of it, to enrich it, and to make it as flourisshing as he could, to endevoure him selfe to love his subjectes, and againe to be beloved of them, willingly to live with them, peaceably to governe them, and with other kyngdomes not to medle, seinge that whiche he hath all reddy is even ynoughe for him, yea and more then he can well turne hym to: this myne advyse maister More, how thinke you it would be harde[6] and taken? So God helpe me not very thankefully, quod I.

[1] More: *i.e.* they were too numerous to be governed properly by only half a king.
[2] Muleteer.
[3] Mules.
[4] *I.e.* For the French king's sake.
[5] Disorder, disturbance.
[6] Heard.

Wel let us procede then, quod he. Suppose that some kyng and his counsel were together whettinge their wittes, and devisinge, what subtell crafte they myght invente to enryche the kinge with great treasures of money. First one counselleth to rayse and enchaunce the valuation of money when the kinge must paye anye: and agayne to calle downe the value of coyne to lesse then it is worthe, when he muste receive or gather any. For thus greate sommes shal be payde wyth a lytyl money, and where lytle is due muche shal be receaved.[1] Another counselleth to fayne warre, that when under this coloure and pretence the kyng hath gathered greate aboundaunce of money, he maye, when it shall please him, make peace with greate solempnitie and holye ceremonies, to blinde the eyes of the poore communaltie, as taking pitie and compassion forsothe upon mans bloude, lyke a loving and a mercifull prince.[2] Another putteth the kynge in remembraunce of certeine olde and moughteeaten[3] lawes, that of longe tyme have not bene put in execution, whych because no man can remembre that they were made, everie man hath transgressed. The fynes of these lawes he counselleth the kynge to require: for there is no waye so proffitable, nor more honorable, as the whyche hathe a shewe and coloure of justice.[4] Another advyseth him to forbidde manye thinges under

Enhauncynge and imbasying of coynes

Counterfayte warres

The renewing of old lawes

Restrayntes

[1] Dr. Lupton notes that Edward IV. introduced two new coins, the angel and angelot, which he ordered to be taken as equivalent to the noble and half-noble, though much inferior in weight and value. On the other hand, Henry VII. called in light and worn money, and simply allowed its weight value.

[2] Henry VII. in 1492, for instance, received grants from Parliament for the purpose of defending Brittany. There was a military demonstration at Boulogne, and then peace was immediately made.

[3] Moth-eaten.

[4] Henry VII., in the person of his agents, Empson and Dudley, revived many obsolete laws that enforced a money penalty, and thus enriched himself by means which had a show and colour of justice.

greate penalties and fines, specially suche thinges as is for the peoples profit not be used,[1] and afterwarde to dispence for money with them, whyche by this prohibition substeyne losse and dammage. For by this meanes the favour of the people is wonne, and profite riseth two wayes. First by takinge forfaytes of them whome covetousnes of gaynes hath brought in daunger of this statute, and also by sellinge privileges and licences,[2] whyche the better that the prince is forsothe, the deerer he selleth them: as one that is lothe to graunte to any private persone anye thinge that is againste the proffitte of his people. And therefore maye sel none but at an exceding dere pryce. Another gyveth the kynge counsel to endaunger unto his grace the judges of the Realme,[3] that he maye have them ever on his side, and that they maye in everye matter despute and reason for the kynges right. Yea and further to call them into his palace and to require them there to argue and discusse his matters in his owne presence. So there shalbe no matter of his so openlye wronge and unjuste, wherein one or other of them, either because he wyl have sumthinge to allege and objecte or that he is ashamed to saye that whiche is sayde alreadye, or els to pike a thanke[4] with his prince, wil not fynde some hole open to set a snare in, wherewith to take the contrarie parte in a trippe.[5] Thus whiles the judges cannot agree amonges them selfes, reasoninge and arguing of that which is playne enough, and bringinge the manifest trewthe in dowte: in the

Sellyng of licences

[1] Not be used = not to be used; the sense being, to prohibit certain things that were against the interests of the people, and then to remove the prohibition for a money payment.

[2] Monopolies, or sole rights, for the sale or production of certain things. These monopolies were a serious abuse in More's time, and became even worse later on.

[3] The meaning is, to bind the judges over to his side.

[4] A "pickthank" was a sycophant, a favour-seeker.

[5] To catch the other side tripping.

meane season the Kinge maye take a fyt occasion to understand the lawe as shal moste make for his advauntage, whereunto al other for shame, or for feare wil agree.[1] Then the Judges may be bolde to pronounce on the kynges side. For he that geveth sentence for the king, cannot be without a good excuse. For it shalbe sufficient for him to have equitie on his part, or the bare wordes of the lawe, or a wrythen and wrested[2] understandinge of the same, or els (whiche with good and just Judges is of greater force then all lawes be) the Kynges indisputable prerogative. To conclude, al the counsellours agre and consent together with the ryche Crassus,[3] that no abundance of gold can be sufficient for a prince, which muste kepe and maynteyne an armie: furthermore that a kynge, thoughe he would, can do nothinge unjustlye. For all that all men have, yea also the men them selfes be all his. And that every man hath so much of his owne, as the kynges gentilnes hath not taken from hym. And that it shalbe moste for the kinges advantage, that his subjectes have very lytle or nothinge in their possession, as whose savegarde dothe herein consiste, that his people doe not waxe wanton and wealthie through riches and libertie, because where these thinges be, there men be not wonte patiently to obeye harde, unjuste, and unlawefull commaundementes. Where as on the other part neade and povertie doth holde downe and kepe under stowte courages, and maketh them patient perforce, takynge from them bolde and rebellynge stomakes. Here agayne if I shoulde ryse up, and boldelye affirme that all these counselles be to the kinge dishonoure and reproche, whose honoure and safetye is more and

The saiyng of riche Crassus

[1] This is an excellent description of the administration of justice under Henry VII. and Henry VIII.

[2] Wrythen (from verb "to writhe") means "distorted."

[3] Marcus Licinius Crassus, triumvir with Cæsar and Pompey.

rather supported and upholden by the wealth and ryches of his people, then by hys owne treasures: and if I should declare that the comminaltie chueseth their king for their owne sake and not for his sake: to the intent, that through his laboure and studie they might al live wealthily sauffe from wronges and injuries: and that therfore the kynge ought to take more care for the wealthe[1] of his people, then for his owne wealthe, even as the office and dewtie of a shepehearde is in that he is a shepherde, to feede his shepe rather then himselfe.[2] For as towchinge this, that they thinke the defence and mayntenaunce of peace to consiste in the povertie of the people, the thing it selfe sheweth that they be farre out of the waye. For where shal a man finde more wrangling, quarrelling, brawling, and chiding, then among beggers? Who be more desierous of newe mutations and alterations, then they that be not content with the present state of their lyfe? Or finallye who be bolder stomaked to bringe all in a hurlieburlye (therby trustinge to get some windfal) then they that have nowe nothinge to leese?[3] And yf any Kyng were so smally regarded, and so lightly estemed, yea so behated[4] of his subjectes,

Povertye the mother of debate and decai of realmes

[1] In all this passage, "wealth" signifies "well-being," and not "riches."

[2] More, doubtless, had in his mind the shepherd simile in Book I. of the "Republic," especially this passage (I. 345): "As it is, Thrasymachus, . . . you suppose him [the genuine shepherd] to feed his sheep, in so far as he is a shepherd, not with an eye to what is best for the flock, but like a votary of feasting who is going to give an entertainment, with an eye to the good cheer, or else to their sale, like a money lender, and not like a shepherd. Whereas the only concern of the shepherd's art is, I presume, how it shall procure what is best for *that* of which it is the appointed guardian; . . . and so . . . every government, in so far as it is a government, looks solely to the advantage of that which is governed and tended by it." Dr. Lupton, however, quotes Ezekiel 34, 2: "Woe be to the shepherds of Israel that do feed themselves: should not the shepherds feed the flocks?"

[3] Lose.

[4] Behated = greatly hated, and corresponds in form with "beloved."

that other wayes he could not kepe them in awe, but onlye by open wronges, by pollinge and shavinge, and by bringinge them to beggerie, sewerly it were better for him to forsake his kingedome, then to holde it by this meanes: whereby though the name of a king be kepte, yet the majestie is lost. For it is againste the dignitie of a kynge to have rule over beggers, but rather over ryche and welthie men. Of this mynde was the hardie and couragius Fabrice,[1] when he sayde, that he had rather be a ruler of riche men, then be ryche himselfe. And verelye one man to live in pleasure and wealth, whyles all other wepe and smarte for it, that is the parte, not of a kynge, but of a jayler. To be shorte as he is a folyshe phisition, that cannot cure his patientes disease, onles he caste him in an other syckenes, so he that cannot amend the lives of his subjectes, but be taking from them the wealthe and commoditie of lyfe, he muste nedes graunte that, he knoweth not the feate[2] how to governe men. But let him rather amende his owne lyfe, renounce unhonest pleasures, and forsake pride. For these be the chiefe vices that cause hym to runne in the contempte or hatred of his people. Let him lyve of hys owne, hurtinge no man. Let him doe cost not above his power.[3] Let him restreyne wyckednes. Let him prevente vices, and take awaye the occasions of offenses by well orderynge hys subjectes, and not by sufferynge wickednes to increase afterward to be punyshed. Let hym not be to hastie in callynge agayne lawes, whyche a custome hathe abrogated:[4] specially suche as have bene longe forgotten, and

A worthy saiing of Fabrice

[1] More exactly, "the upright and high-minded Fabricus." Caius Fabricus, consul in the latter part of the third century B.C., is the type of integrity, incorruptibility, and simplicity of life.

[2] The act or art.

[3] Let him not spend beyond his means.

[4] Bringing back laws which have been tacitly abandoned.

never lacked nor neaded. And let hym never under the cloke and pretence of transgression take suche fynes and forfaytes, as no Judge wyll suffre a private persone to take, as unjuste and ful of gile.[1] Here if I should brynge forth before them the lawe of the Macariens,[2] whiche be not farre distaunt from Utopia: whose Kynge the daye of hys coronation is bounde by a solempne othe, that he shall never at anye time have in hys treasure above a thousande pounde of golde or sylver.[3] They saye a verye good kynge, whiche toke more care for the wealthe and commoditye of his countrey, then for thenriching[4] of him selfe, made this lawe to be a stop and a barre to kinges from heaping and hording up so muche money as might impoveryshe their people. For he forsawe that this som of treasure woulde suffice to supporte the kynge in battaile against his owne people, if they shoulde chaunce to rebell: and also to maintein his warres againste the invasions of his forreyn enemies. Againe he perceived the same stocke of money to be to litle and unsufficient to encourage and enhable him wrongfullye to take away other mens goodes: whyche was the chiefe cause whie the lawe was made. An other cause was this. He thought that by this provision his people shoulde not lacke money, wherewith to mayneteyne their dayly occupieng and chaffayre.[5] And seynge the kynge could not chewse but laye out and bestowe al that came in above the

A fleasinge and notable lawe of the Macariens

[1] Sir William Capel fell into the clutches of Sir Richard Empson, and was condemned in the sum of £2700 under obsolete laws, but was allowed to compound with Henry VII. for £1600. (See Gairdner's "Henry VII.")

[2] Another imaginary people, named from the Greek μάκάριος, happy, blessed.

[3] Henry VII. left at his death £1,800,000, representing nearly twenty millions in modern value!

[4] The enriching.

[5] "Occupying" is trading in the wholesale sense, "chaffering" is trading in the retail sense.

prescript some[1] of his stocke, he thought he woulde seke no occasions to doe his subjectes injurie. Suche a kyng shalbe feared of evel men, and loved of good men. These, and suche other informations, yf I shoulde use among men wholye inclined and geven to the contrarye part, how deaffe hearers thinke you shoulde I have?

Deaffe hearers douteles (quod I) And in good faith no marveyle. And to be plaine with you, truelye I can not allowe[2] that suche communication shalbe used, or suche counsell geven, as you be suere shall never be regarded nor receaved. For howe can so straunge informations be profitable, or how can they be beaten into their headdes, whose myndes be allredye prevented:[3] with cleane contrarye persuasions? This schole philosophie is not unpleasaunte amonge frendes in familiare communication,[4] but in the counselles of kinges, where greate matters be debated and reasoned with greate authoritye, these thinges have no place. That is it whiche I mente (quod he) when I sayde philosophye hadde no place amonge kinges. In dede (quod I) this schole philosophie hath not: whiche thinketh all thinges mete for every place. But there is an other philosophye more civile,[5] whyche knoweth, as ye wolde say, her owne stage, and thereafter orderynge and behavinge hereselfe in the playe that she hathe in hande, playethe her parte accordingelye with comlyenes, utteringe nothinge oute of dewe ordre and fassyon. And this is the philosophye that you muste use. Or els whyles

Schole philosophye in the consultations of Princes hath no place

A fine and a fitte similitude

[1] Prescribed sum.

[2] Approve.

[3] Prejudiced, or prepossessed.

[4] The idea is that rulers will act by might and not by right; and so academic discussions, though pleasing exercises, are not practical.

[5] Civil, that is, as belonging to the life of citizens. A modern may use "social" in this sense.

a commodye of Plautus is playinge, and the vyle bondemen skoffynge and tryffelinge[1] amonge them selfes, yf you shoulde sodenlye come upon the stage in a Philosophers apparrell, and reherse oute of Octavia the place wherein Seneca disputeth with Nero:[2] had it not bene better for you to have played the domme persone,[3] then by rehersynge that, whych served neither for the tyme nor place, to have made suche a tragycall comedye or gallymalfreye?[4] For by bryngynge in other stuffe that nothinge apperteynethe to the presente matter, you muste nedes marre and pervert the play that is in hand, thoughe the stuffe that you bringe be muche better. What part soever you have taken upon you, playe that aswel as you can and make the best of it: And doe not therefore disturbe and brynge out of ordre the whole matter, bycause that an other, whyche is meryer and better, cummethe to your remembraunce. So the case standeth in a common wealthe, and so it is in the consultations of Kynges and prynces. Yf evel opinions and noughty[5] persuasions can not be utterly and quyte plucked out of their hartes, if you can not even as you wolde remedy vices, which use and custome hath confirmed: yet for this cause you must not leave and forsake the common wealthe: you muste not forsake the shippe in a tempeste, because you can not rule and kepe

A dumme plaier

[1] Trifling.

[2] The idea to be conveyed is that of incongruity, unsuitability, and so, of waste—of casting pearls before swine. Plautus was a comic dramatist, Seneca a writer of rhetorical and philosophical tragedies—*Octavia* being one attributed to him. Transferring the similitude to English plays, we may imagine the effect of Hamlet's soliloquy on death if it were placed amidst the knock-about farce of the *Taming of the Shrew*.

[3] A character who appears in a play, and takes no part in the dialogue.

[4] Gallimaufry. From an old French word, meaning a hash or ragout; and hence a jumble, a ridiculous mixture.

[5] Vile.

downe the wyndes. No nor you muste not laboure to dryve into their heades newe and straunge informations, whyche you knowe wel shalbe nothinge regarded wyth them that be of cleane contrary mindes. But you must with a crafty wile and a subtell trayne[1] studye and endevoure youre selfe, asmuche as in you lyethe, to handle the matter wyttelye[2] and handesomelye for the purpose, and that whyche you can not turne to good, so to order it that it be not verye badde. For it is not possible for al thinges to be well, onles all men were good. Whych I thinke wil not be yet thies good many yeares.

By this meanes (quod he) nothing elles wyl be brought to passe, but whyles that I goe aboute to remedye the madnes of others, I shoulde be even as madde as they. For if I wolde speake suche thinges that be trewe I must neades speake suche thinges; but as for to speake false thinges, whether that be a philosophers parte or no I can not tel, truelye it is not my part. Howebeit this communication of mine, thoughe peradventure it maye seme unplesaunte to them, yet can I not see why it shoulde seme straunge, or folishelye newfangled. If so be that I should speake those thinges that Plato faynethe in his weale publique: or that the Utopians doe in theires, these thinges thoughe they were (as they be in dede) better, yet they myghte seme spoken oute of place. Forasmuche as here amonges us, everye man hathe his possesions severall[3] to him selfe, and there all thinges be common. But what was in my communication conteyned, that mighte not, and oughte not in anye place to be spoken? Savynge that to them whyche have throughlye decreed and determined with them selfes to runne hedlonges the contrary waye it can not be acceptable and pleasaunt, because it calleth

The Utopian weale publique

[1] Plan or stratagem.
[2] Wisely.
[3] Separate.

them backe, and sheweth them the jeopardies. Verilye yf all thinges that evel and vitiouse[1] maners have caused to seme inconveniente and noughte should be refused, as thinges unmete and reprochefull, then we must among Christen people wynke at[2] the moste parte of al those thinges, whych Christ taught us, and so streitly forbad them to be winked at, that those thinges also whiche he whispered in the eares of his disciples he commaunded to be proclaimed in open houses.[3] And yet the most parte of them[4] is more dissident from the maners of the worlde nowe a dayes, then my communication was. But preachers, slie and wilie men, followynge youre counsel (as I suppose) bicause they saw men evel willing[5] to frame theyr manners to Christes rule, they have wrested and wriede[6] his doctryne, and like a rule of leade[7] have applyed it to mennes manners: that by some meanes at the leaste waye,[8] they myghte agree together. Whereby I can not see what good they have done: but that men may more sickerlye[9] be evell. And I truelye shoulde prevaile even as litle in kinges counselles. For either I muste saye otherwayes then they saye, and then I were as good to saye nothinge, or els I muste saye the same that they saye, and (as Mitio saieth in Terence)[10] helpe to further their madnes. For that craftye wyle, and subtil traine of yours, I can not perceave to what purpose it serveth, wherewith you wolde have me to study and endevoure my selfe, yf all thinges can not be made good, yet to handle them wittily and handsomely for the pur-

[1] Vicious. [2] Ignore, shut our eyes to.
[3] On the house-tops; and so, with the utmost publicity.
[4] *I.e.* Christ's doctrines. [5] Ill-willing; and so, unwilling.
[6] Twisted and distorted; so above, "writhen and wrested."
[7] *I.e.* a measure that can be bent or twisted.
[8] Where we should say simply "at least."
[9] Securely, surely.
[10] Mitio, in the *Adelphi*, says, "If I provoke or even put up with his violence, I shall indeed be as mad as he."

pose, that as farre forth as is possible, they may not be very evel. For there is no place to dissemble in, nor to wincke in. Noughtye counselles muste be openlye allowed and verye pestilent decrees muste be approved. He shalbe counted worse then a spye, yea almoste as evel as a traytour, that with a faynte harte doth prayse evel and noyesome decrees. Moreover a man canne have no occasion to doe good, chaunsinge into the companye of them, whych wyl soner perverte a good man, then be made good them selfes: through whose evel company he shalbe marred, or els if he remayne good and innocent, yet the wickednes and follye of others shalbe imputed to hym, and layde in his necke.[1] So that it is impossible with that craftye wyele, and subtel trayne to turne anye thinge to better. Wherefore Plato by a goodlye similitude declareth, why wise men refraine to medle in the common wealthe.[2] For when they see the people swarme into the stretes, and daily wet to the skinne with rayne, and yet can not persuade them to goe out of the rayne, and to take their houses, knowynge wel, that if they shoulde goe out to them,

[1] Laid to his charge.

[2] "Those who worthily associate with philosophy form a very small remainder. . . . Now, he who has become a member of this little band, and has tasted how sweet and blessed his treasure is, and has watched the madness of the many, with the full assurance that there is scarcely a person who takes a single judicious step in his public life, and that there is no ally with whom he may safely march to the succour of the just; nay that should he attempt it, he will be like a man that has fallen among wild beasts, unwilling to join in their iniquities, and unable singly to resist the fury of all, and therefore destined to perish before he can be of any service to his country or his friends, and do no good to himself or any one else. Having, I say, weighed all this, such a man keeps quiet and confines himself to his own concerns, like one who takes shelter behind a wall on a stormy day, when the wind is driving before it a hurricane of dust and rain, and when from his retreat he sees the infection of lawlessness spreading over the rest of mankind, he is well content if he can in any way live his life here untainted in his own person by unrighteousness and unholy deeds, and when the time for his release arrives, take his departure amid bright hopes with cheerfulness and serenity."—"Republic," VI., 496.

they should nothinge prevayle, nor wynne ought by it, but with them be wette also in the raine, they do kepe them selfes within their houses, being content that they be saffe them selves, seinge they cannot remedye the follye of the people. Howe be it doubtlesse, maister More, (to speke truelye as my mynde geveth me)[1] where possessions be private, where money bearethe all the stroke,[2] it is harde and almoste impossible that there the weale publique maye justeleye be governed, and prosperouslye floryshe. Onles you thinke thus: that Justyce is there executed, where all thinges come into the handes of evell men, or that prosperitye there florysshethe, where all is divided amonge a fewe; whyche fewe neverthelesse doe not leade theire lives very wealthely, and the resydewe lyve myserablye, wretchedlye and beggerlye. Wherefore when I consyder with my selfe and weye in my mynde the wyse, and godlye ordinaunces of the Utopians, amonge whome with verye fewe lawes all thinges be so wel and wealthelye ordered, that vertue is had in pryce[3] and estimation and yet all thinges beinge there common, everye man hath aboundaunce of everye thinge. Againe on the other part, when I compare with them so manye nations ever makinge newe lawes, yet none of them all well and sufficientlye furnysshed with lawes: where everye man calleth that he hathe gotten, his owne proper[4] and private goodes, where so many newe lawes daylye made be not sufficiente for everye man to enjoye, defend, and knowe from an other mans that whych he calleth his owne; which thinge the infinite controversies in the lawe, daylye rysynge, never to be ended, playnly declare to be trewe. These thinges (I say) when I consider with me selfe, I holde wel with

[1] As my mind prompts me.
[2] Where everything is measured money value.
[3] Highly esteemed, or well-rewarded.
[4] Proper = private, belonging to one's self.

Plato, and doe nothinge marveille, that he woulde make no lawes for them that refused those lawes, whereby all men shoulde have and enjoye equall portions of welthes and commodities.[1] For the wise man did easely foresee, this to bee the one and onlye waye to the wealthe of a communaltye, yf equalitye of all thinges should be broughte in and stablyshed. Whyche I thinke is not possible to be observed, where everye mans gooddes be proper and peculiare to him selfe. For where everye man under certeyne tytles and pretences draweth and plucketh to himselfe as much as he can, so that a fewe devide among them selfes all the whole riches, be there never so muche abundaunce and stoore, there to the residewe is lefte lacke and povertye. And for the moste parte it chaunceth, that this latter sorte is more worthye to enjoye that state of wealth, then the other be: bycause the ryche men be covetous, craftye and unprofitable. On the other parte the poore be lowly, simple and by theire daylye laboure more profitable to the common welthe then to them selfes. Thus I doe fullye persuade me selfe, that no equall and juste distribution of thinges can be made, nor that perfecte wealthe shall ever be among men, onles this propriety[2] be exiled and bannished. But so long as it shal continew, so long shal remaine among the most and best part of men the hevy, and inevitable burden of poverty and wretchednes. Whiche, as I graunte that it maye be sumwhat eased, so I utterly denye that it can wholy be taken away. For if there were a statute made, that no man should possesse above a certeine measure of grounde, and that no man

Plato wylled al things in a common wealth to be commen

[1] It is related by Diogenes Laertius in his biography of Plato that the Arcadians and Thebans invited Plato to make the laws for a new city they had founded. When he discovered that there was to be no community of rights and goods, he refused.

[2] Private ownership.

shoulde have in his stocke above a prescripte and appointed some of money:[1] if it were by certein lawes decreed, that neither the Kinge should be of to greate power, neither the people to haute[2] and wealthy, and that offices shoulde not be obteined by inordinate suite, or by brybes and gyftes: that they shoulde neither be bought nor sold, nor that it shoulde be nedeful for the officers, to be at any cost or charge in their offices: for so occasion is geven to theym by fraude and ravin[3] to gather up their money againe, and by reason of giftes and bribes the offices be geven to rich men, which shoulde rather have been executed of wise men: by such lawes I say, like as sicke bodies that be desperat and past cure, be wont with continual good cherissing to be kept and botched up for a time: so these evels also might be lightened and mitigated. But that thei may be perfectly cured, and brought to a good and upryght state, it is not to be hoped for, whiles every man is maister of his owne to him selfe. Yea, and whyles you goe aboute to doe youre cure of one parte, you shall make bygger the sore of an other parte, so the healpe of one causeth anothers harme: forasmuche as nothinge can be geven to annye one, onles it be taken from an other.

But I am of a contrary opinion (quod I) for me thinketh that men shal never there live wealthelye, where all thinges be commen. For howe can there be abundaunce of gooddes, or of any thing, where every man withdraweth his hande from labour? Whome the regard of his owne gaines driveth not to worke, but the hope that he hath in other mens travayles maketh him slowthfull. Then when they be pricked with povertye, and yet no man can by any lawe or right defend that for his owne, which he hathe gotten with the laboure of his owne handes, shal not there of necessitie be continual sedition and

[1] More than a prescribed and definite sum of money.
[2] Too high, too haughty. [3] Robbery, extortion.

blodeshed? Speciallye the authoritye and reverence of magistrates beinge taken away, whiche, what place it maye have with such men amonge whome is no difference, I cannot devise.

I marvel not (quod he) that you be of this opinion. For you conceave in youre minde either none at al, or els a verye false Image and similitude of this thing. But yf you had bene with me in Utopia[1] and had presently[2] sene theire fasshions and lawes, as I dyd, whyche lived there v. yeare and moore, and wolde never have commen thence, but onlye to make that newe lande knowen here: Then doubtles you wolde graunt, that you never sawe people wel ordered, but onlye there.

Surely (quod maister Peter) it shalbe harde for you to make me beleve, that there is better order in that newe lande, then is here in these countryes, that wee knowe. For good wittes be aswel here as there: and I thinke oure commen wealthes be auncienter than theires; wherein long use and experience hath found out many thinges commodious for mannes lyfe, besides that manye thinges heare amonge us have bene found by chaunce, whiche no wytte coulde ever have devysed.

As touchinge the auncientnes (quod he) of common wealthes, than[3] you might better judge, if you had red

[1] More concocts this famous name from *οὐ*, no, and *τόπος*, place,—the word "Utopia" being thus equivalent to "Nowhere." More latinizes it with this significance. Writing (for instance) to Erasmus in 1517, he says, "Nusquamam nostram nusquam bene scriptam ad te mitto;" *i.e.* "I am sending you my "Nowhere," nowhere well written." The suggestion in the text that the name derives from King Utopus, the great founder of the commonwealth, is of course a mere device of the fiction. The hexastich of Anemolius (see p. 197), the Utopian poet-laureate, closes with the pun that the island might well be called "Eutopia," *i.e.* "Goodplace" (*εὐ*, good, and *τόπος*, place). As parallels to More's invention, readers will remember that Morris calls his description of a regenerated England, "News from Nowhere," and that "Erewhon," the topsy-turvy country described in Samuel Butler's delightful satire, is a mere anagram of "Nowhere."

[2] By your own presence; personally.

[3] Then.

the histories and cronicles of that land, which if we may beleve, cities were there, before men were here. Nowe what thinge soever hetherto by witte hath bene devised, or found by chaunce, that myght be aswel there as here. But I thinke verily, though it were so that we did passe them in witte: yet in study, in travaile, and in laboursome endevoure they farre passe us. For (as theire Chronicles testifie) before our arrival there, they never hard any thing of us, whome they cal the ultraequinoctialles: saving that ones about M.CC. yeares ago,[1] a certeine shyppe was lost by the Ile of Utopia whiche was driven thether by tempest. Certeine Romaines and Egyptians were caste on lande. Whyche after that never wente thence. Marke nowe what profite they tooke of this one occasion through delygence and earneste travaile. There was no crafte nor scyence within the impire of Rome whereof any proffite could rise, but they either lerned it of these straungers, or els of them taking occasion to searche for it, founde it oute. So greate proffite was it to them that ever anye wente thyther from hence. But yf annye like chaunce before this hath brought anye man from thence hether, that is as quyte oute of remembraunce, as this also perchaunce in time to come shalbe forgotten, that ever I was there. And like as they quickelye, almoste at the first meting, made their owne, what soever is amonge us wealthelye devised: so I suppose it wolde be long before we wolde receave anythinge, that amonge them is better instituted then amonge us. And this I suppose is the chiefe cause whie theire common wealthes be wyselyer governed, and doe flowrish in more wealthe, then ours, though we neither in wytte nor riches be their inferiours.

Therefore gentle Maister Raphael (quod I) I praye you and beseche you describe unto us the Ilande. And study not to be shorte: but declare largely in

[1] Twelve hundred years ago.

order their groundes, their rivers, their cities, theire people, theire manners, their ordinaunces, their lawes, and to be short al thinges, that you shal thinke us desierous to knowe. And you shal thinke us desierous to know what soever we knowe not yet. There is nothing (quod he) that I wil doe gladlier. For all these thinges I have freshe in mind. But the matter requireth leasure. Let us go in therfore (quod I) to dinner, afterward we wil bestowe the time at our pleasure. Content (quod he) be it.

So we went in and dyned. When dinner was done, we came into the same place again, and sate us downe upon the same benche, commaunding oure servauntes that no man should trouble us. Then I and Maister Peter Giles desiered maister Raphael to performe his promise. He therefore seing us desirous and willing to harken to him, when he had sit stil and paused a litle while, musing and bethinkinge himselfe, thus he began to speake.

THE END OF THE FIRSTE BOKE.

Amaurotū urbs.
Ostium anydri
Fons Anydri.
Hythlodæus.

THE SECONDE BOKE OF THE COMMUNICATION OF RAPHAEL HYTHLODAYE, CONCERNYNG THE BEST STATE OF A COMMON WEALTHE CONTEYNINGE THE DISCRIPTION OF UTOPIA, WITH A LARGE DECLARATION OF THE POLITIKE GOVERNEMENT, AND OF ALL THE GOOD LAWES AND ORDERS OF THE SAME ILANDE.

THE Iland of Utopia, conteynethe in breadthe in the middel parte of it (for there it is brodest) CC.[1] miles. Which bredthe continueth throughe the moste parte of the lande Saving that by litle and litle it commeth in, and waxeth narrower towardes both the endes. Which[2] fetching about a circuite or compasse of V. C.[3] miles, do fassion the whole Iland like to the new mone. Betwene these two corners the sea runneth in, dividyng them a sonder by the distaunce of xi. miles or there aboutes, and there surmountethe[4] into a large and wyde sea, which by reason that the land on every side compassethe it about, and shiltreth it from the windes, is not roughe, nor mounteth not with great waves, but almost floweth quietlye, not muche unlike a greate standinge powle: and maketh welnieghe[5] all the space within the bellye of the lande in maner of a haven: and to the greate commoditie of the inhabitauntes receaveth

The sice and fashion of the newe ylande Utopia

[1] Two hundred. [2] *I.e.* the ends. [3] Five hundred.
[4] Spreads out. [5] Well-nigh.

in shyppes towardes everye parte of the lande. The forefrontes or frontiers of the ii. corners, what with fordes and shelves,[1] and what with rockes be verye jeoperdous and daungerous. In the middle distaunce betwene them bothe standeth up above the water a greate rocke, which therfore is nothing perillous bycause it is in sight. Upon the top of this rocke is a faire and a strong tower builded, which they holde with a garrison of men. Other rockes there be lyinge hidde under the water, which therfore be daungerous. The channelles be knowen onely to themselfes. And therfore it seldome chaunceth that anye straunger oneles he be guided by an Utopian can come in to this haven. In so muche that they themselfes could skaselye[2] entre withoute jeoperdie, but that theire way is directed and ruled by certaine lande markes standing on the shore. By turninge, translatinge,[3] and removinge thies markes into other places they maye destroye theire enemies navies, be they never so many. The out side or utter[4] circuite of the land is also ful of havens, but the landing is so suerly fenced, what by nature, and what by workemanshyp of mans hand, that a fewe defenders maye dryve backe manye armies. Howbeit as they saye, and as the fassion of the place it selfe dothe partely shewe, it was not ever compassed about with the sea. But kyng Utopus, whose name, as conquerour the Iland beareth (For before his tyme it was called Abraxa)[5] which also

A place naturally fenced nedethe but one garrison

A politique devise in the chaunging of land markes

The Ilande of Utopia so named of king Utopus

[1] Fords = shallow waters; shelves = sandbanks.
[2] Scarcely. [3] Transferring. [4] Outer, as in "uttermost."
[5] Unlike most of More's names, this seems to have no meaning, unless it is connected with "Abraxas"—a mystic name used as the title of a Gnostic deity, and a gem engraved with the composite human and animal figure of the god. As More took his Utopian deity "Mithras" from Eastern mysteries, he might have found "Abraxa" at the same source. If any suggestion is meant to be conveyed by the name, it is

broughte the rude and wilde people to that excellent perfection in al good fassions, humanitye, and civile gentilnes, wherin they nowe goe beyond al the people of the world: even at his firste arrivinge and enteringe upon the lande, furthwith obteynynge the victory, caused xv. myles space of uplandyshe grounde, where the sea had no passage, to be cut and dygged up. And so brought the sea rounde aboute the lande. He set to this worke not only the inhabitauntes of the Ilande (because they should not thinke it done in contumelye and despyte) but also all his owne soldiours. Thus the worke beyng divided into so greate a numbre of workemen, was with excedinge marvelous spede dyspatched. In so muche that the borderers,[1] whiche at the firste began to mocke, and to jeste at this vaine enterpryse, then turned theire derision to marveyle at the successe, and to feare. There be in the Ilande liiii. large and faire cities, or shiere townes, agreyng all together in one tonge, in lyke maners, institucions, and lawes. They be all set and situate alyke, and in al poyntes fashioned alyke, as farforthe as the place or plotte sufferethe.

Many handes make light worke

Cities in Utopia

Similitude causeth concorde

Of these cities they that be nigheste together be xxiiii. myles asonder. Againe there is none of them distaunte from the nexte above one dayes jorneye a fote. There com yearly to Amaurote[2] out of every cytie. .iii. old men wyse and well experienced, there to

A meane distaunce betwene citie and citie

that a land without reasonable social order is a land of chaos and hocus-pocus. The curious reader will find a page full of pictures of Gnostic gems in Jennings' book, "The Rosicrucians." Another solution which occurs to me is this: Give to each letter of "Abraxas" its numerical value in Greek, and the total comes to 365—a complete year reckoned in days. Omit the last letter, as More does, and the total is decreased by 200. Does he mean, then, that the social order represented by the unreformed island is not even half complete?

[1] The neighbouring people.

[2] The capital of Utopia, from ἀμαυρός—dark, dim, hidden.

entreate[1] and debate, of the common matters of the land. For this citie (because it standeth juste in the middes of the Ilande, and is therefore moste mete for the ambassadours of all partes of the realme) is taken for the chiefe and heade citye. The precinctes and boundes of the shieres be so commodiouslye appoynted oute, and set fourthe for the cities, that none of them all hathe of anye syde lesse then xx. myles of grounde, and of some syde also muche more, as of that part where the cities be of farther distaunce asonder. None of the cities desire to enlarge the boundes and limites of theire shieres. For they counte them selfes rather the good husbandes,[2] then the owners of theire landes. They have in the countrey in all partes of the shiere houses or fermes[3] builded, wel appointed and furnyshed with all sortes of instrumentes and tooles belongynge to husbandrye. These houses be inhabited of the citezens, whyche come thether to dwelle by course.[4] No howsholde or ferme in the countrey hath fewer then xl. persones men and women, besydes two bondmen, whyche be all under the rule and order of the good man, and the good wyfe of the house, beinge bothe verye sage, discrete and aunciente persones. And every xxx. fermes or families have one heade ruler, whyche is called a Philarche,[5] being as it were a head baylyffe. Out of every one of these families or fermes commeth everye yeare into the citie xx. persones whiche have continewed ii. yeres before in the countreye. In theire place so manye freshe be sent thether oute of the citie, whoe, of them that have bene there a yeare all readye, and be therefore expert and conninge in husbandry, shalbe instructed and taughte. And they the nexte yeare shall teache

The distribution of landes

But this now adaies is the grounde of all mischeife

Husbandrye and tillage cheflye and principally regarded and advaunced

[1] To treat, to deal with. [2] Husbandmen. [3] Farms.
[4] By turns. [5] From φυλή, tribe; ἀρχός, chief.

other. This order is used for feare that either skarsenes of victualles, or some other like incommoditie should chaunce, throughe lacke of knowledge: yf they should be altogether newe, and freshe, and unexperte in husbandrie. This maner and fassion of yearelye chaunginge and renewinge the occupiers of husbandrye,[1] though it be solempne[2] and customablye used, to thintent that no man shall be constrayned againste his wil to contynewe longe in that harde and sharpe kynde of lyfe, yet manye of them have suche a pleasure and delyte in husbandrye, that they obteyne a longer space of yeares. These husbandmen plowe and til the ground, and breede up cattel, and provide and make ready woode, whyche they carrye to the citie either by lande, or by water, as they maye moste convenyently. They brynge up a greate multitude of pulleyne,[3] and that by a mervaylouse policye.[4] For the hennes dooe not sytte upon the egges: but by keepynge theym in a certayne equall heate they brynge lyfe into them, and hatche theym. The chykens, assone as they be come oute of the shel, follow men and women in steade of the hennes. They brynge up verye few horses: nor none, but very fearce ones: and that for none other use or purpose, but onlye to exercyse theire youthe in rydynge and feates of armes. For oxen be put to all the laboure of plowyng and drawinge. Whiche they graunte to be not so good as horses at a sodeyne brunte,[5] and (as we saye) at a dead lifte, but yet they

The dueties of men of husbandrye

A straunge fassion in hatchinge and bringing up of pulleyne

The use of horses

The use of Oxen

[1] Those occupied in husbandry.

[2] Regular, usual. Originally, it means annual, especially in respect to religious rites.

[3] Poultry.

[4] A wonderful plan. Artificial incubation was in More's day a matter of speculation, and not of practice.

[5] At occasional spurts.

holde opinion, that oxen wil abide and suffre muche more laboure, payne and hardnes, then horses wil. And they thinke that oxen be not in daunger and subject unto so many diseases, and that they be kepte and mainteined with muche lesse coste and charge: and finallye that they be good for meate, when they be past laboure. They sowe corne onelye for breade. For their drinke is eyther wyne made of grapes, or els of apples, or peares, or els it is cleare water. And many times meathe[1] made of honey or licouresse[2] sodde in water, for thereof they have great store. And though they knowe certeynlie (for they knowe it perfectly in dede) how muche vitailes the citie wyth the whole countreye or shiere rounde aboute it doeth spende:[3] yet they sowe muche more corne, and bryed[4] up muche more cattell, then serveth for their owne use, partynge the overplus among their borderers. What soever necessarie thinges be lacking in the countrey, all suche stuffe they fetch out of the citie: where without any exchaunge they easelye obteyne it of the magistrates of the citie. For every moneth manie of them go into the citie on the holy daye. When theyr harvest day draweth neare, and is at hande, then the Philarches, which be the head officers and bailifes of husbandrie, sende worde to the magistrates of the citie what numbre of harvest men is nedefull to be sent to them oute of the citie. The whiche companye of harvest men beynge readye at the daye appoynted, almost in one fayre daye dispacheth all the harvest woorke.

Bread and drink

A great discretion in sowing of corne

Mutual helpe quickely dispatcheth

[1] Mead.
[2] Licorice.
[3] Consume.
[4] Breed.

Of the Cities and Namely of Amaurote.

AS for their cities, who so knoweth one of them, knoweth them all: they be al so like one to an other, as farfurthe as the nature of the place permitteth. I will describe therefore to you one or other of them, for it skilleth not[1] greatly which: but which rather then Amaurote?[2] Of them all this is the worthiest and of most dignitie. For the resideu knowledge it for the head citie, because there is the counsell house. Nor to me anye of them all is better beloved, as wherein I lived five whole years together. The citie of Amaurote standeth upon the side of a lowe hill in fashyon almost foure square. For the breadth of it beginneth a litle beneth the toppe of the hill, and still continueth by the space of two miles, untill it come to the ryver of Anyder.[3] The length of it, which lieth by the ryvers syde, is sumwhat more. The river of Anyder riseth four and twentie myles above Amaurote out of a litle springe. But beynge increased by other smale rivers and broukes that runne into it, and amonge other two sumwhat bygge ons, before the citie it is halfe a mile broade, and farther broader. And fortie myles beyonde the citie it falleth into the Ocean sea. By all that space that liethe betwene the sea and the citie, and certen myles also above the citie the water ebbeth and floweth sixe houres together with a swift tide. Whan the sea floweth in, for the length of thirtie miles it filleth all the Anyder with salte water, and driveth backe

The description of Amaurote the chiefe Citie in Utopia

The description of the river of Anyder

[1] It matters not.

[2] In the title above, "namely" means "by name," or "in particular."

[3] Anyder, from the Greek ἄνυδρος = without water (α, privative; ὕδωρ, water).

the freshe water of the ryver. And sumwhat further it chaungeth[1] the swetenes of the freshe water with saltnes. But a litle beyonde that the river waxeth swete, and runneth foreby[2] the citie freshe and pleasaunt. And when the sea ebbeth, and goeth backe againe, the freshe water foloweth it almooste even to the verie fal into the sea. Ther goeth a bridge over the river made not of piles or of timber, but of stonewarke with gorgious and substancial arches at that part of the citie that is farthest from the sea: to the intent that shippes maye passe alonge forbie all the side of the citie without let. They have also an other river which in dede is not verie great. But it runneth gentely and pleasauntly. For it riseth even oute of the same hill that the citie standeth upon, and runneth downe a slope through the middes of the citie into Anyder. And because it riseth a litle without the citie, the Amaurotians have inclosed the head spring of it, with stronge fences and bulwarkes, and so have joyned it to the citie. This is done to the intente that the water shoulde not be stopped nor turned away, or poysoned, if their enemies should chaunce to come upon them. From thence the water is derived[3] and conveied down in cannels[4] of bricke divers wayes into the lower partes of the citie. Where that cannot be done, by reason that the place wyll not suffer it, there they gather the raine water in great cisternes, whiche doeth them as good service. The citie is compassed aboute with a heighe and thicke stone walle full of turrettes and bulwarkes. A drie diche, but deape, and brode, and overgrowen with bushes, briers, and thornes, goeth aboute thre sides or quarters of the city. To

The verie like in England in the river of Thamys

Herein also doeth London agre with Amaurote

The use of freshe water

The defence of towne walles

[1] Spoils. [2] Past; the word occurs again a few lines lower.
[3] Conducted. [4] Channels (cf. canals).

the fourth side the river it selfe serveth for a ditche. The stretes be appointed and set furth very commodious and handsome, both for carriage, and also against the windes. The houses be of faire and gorgious building, and on the strete side they stande joyned together in a long rowe through the whole streate without any partition or separation. The stretes be twentie foote brode.[1] On the backe side of the houses through the whole length of the streete, lye large gardens inclosed rounde aboute wyth the backe part of the streetes. Everye house hathe two doores, one into the streete, and a posterne doore on the backsyde into the garden. These doores be made with two leaves, never locked nor bolted, so easie to be opened, that they wil followe the least drawing of a fynger, and shutte againe alone. Whoso will, may go in, for there is nothinge within the houses that is private, or anie mans owne. And every tenth yeare they chaunge their houses by lot. They set great store by their gardeins. In them they have vineyardes, all maner of fruite, herbes, and flowres, so pleasaunt, so well furnished, and so fynely kepte, that I never sawe thynge more frutefull, nor better trimmed in anye place. Their studie and deligence herin commeth not onely of pleasure, but also of a certen strife and contention that is betwene strete and strete, concerning the trimming, husbanding, and furnisshing of their gardens: everye man for his owne parte. And verelye you shall not lightelye finde in all the citie anye thinge, that is

Stretes

Buildinges and houses

To every dwelling house a garden platte adjoyninge

This geere smelleth of Plato his communitie[2]

The commoditie of gardens is commended also of Vergile

[1] To us this seems no great width; but the streets of More's London were generally but half that width.

[2] Gear = matter. "Republic," III., 416, says, "In the first place, no one should possess any private property if it can possibly be avoided; secondly, no one should have a dwelling or storehouse into which all who please may not enter."

more commodious, eyther for the profite of the Citizens, or for pleasure. And therfore it maye seme that the first founder of the citie mynded nothing so much, as these gardens. For they saye that kinge Utopus him selfe, even at the first beginning appointed, and drewe furth the platte fourme[1] of the citie into this fashion and figure that it hath nowe, but the gallant[2] garnishinge, and the beautifull settinge furth of it, wherunto he sawe that one mannes age would not suffice: that he left to his posteritie. For their cronicles, whiche they kepe written with all deligente circumspection, conteinynge the historie of M. vii. C. lx.[3] yeares, even from the firste conquest of the Ilande, recorde and witnesse that the houses in the beginning were very low, and like homely cotages or poore sheppard houses, made at all adventures[4] of everye rude pece of tymber, that came firste to hande, with mudde walles, and ridged rooffes, thatched over with strawe. But nowe the houses be curiouslye[5] buylded after a gorgious and gallante sorte, with three storyes one over another. The outsides of the walles be made either of harde flynte, or of plaster, or els of bricke, and the inner sydes be well strengthened with tymber work. The roofes be plaine and flat, covered with a certen kinde of plaster that is of no coste, and yet so tempered that no fyre can hurt or perishe it, and withstandeth the violence of the wether better then any leade. They kepe the winde oute of their windowes with glasse, for it is ther much used,[6] and somhere[7] also with fine linnen cloth dipped in oyle or ambre,[8] and that for two commodities. For by thys meanes more lighte commeth in, and the winde is better kepte oute.

Glased or canvased windowes

[1] *I.e.* the flat figure, or ground plan.
[2] Handsome.
[3] Seventeen hundred and sixty.
[4] Haphazard.
[5] Carefully.
[6] Glass was not used for the poorer houses in More's time.
[7] Somewhere, in some places.
[8] Resin.

Of the Magistrates.

EVERYE thirtie families or fermes, chuese them yerely an officer, which in their olde language is called the Syphograunte, and by a newer name the Philarche. Every ten Syphograuntes, with al their thirtie families be under an officer which was ones called the Tranibore, nowe the chiefe Philarche.[1] Moreover as concerninge the election of the Prince, all the Syphograuntes, which be in number 200, first be sworne to chuese, him whom they thinke mooste mete and expediente. Then by a secrete election, they name prince[2] one of those iiij. whome the people before named unto them. For oute of the iiij. quarters of the citie there be iiij. chosen, oute of every quarter one, to stande for the election: Whiche be put up to the counsell. The princes office continueth all his life tyme, oneles he be deposed or put downe for suspition of tirannie. They chuese the Tranibores yearly, but lightlie they chaunge them not. All the other officers be but for one yeare. The Tranibores everye thyrde daye, and sumtimes, yf nede be, oftener come into the counsell house with the prince. Their counsell is concerninge the common wealthe. If there be any controversies amonge the

A tranibore in the Utopiane tonge signifieth a head or chief peere

A marvelous straunge fassion in chusinge magistrates

Tyranny in a wel ordered weale publique utterlie to be abhorred

[1] Dr. Lupton has made heroic efforts to derive these names from the Greek, and suggests that "Tranibor" means "Bench-eater," (*θράνος* = top bench in a gallery; *βορός* = feeders), and that "Syphograrnt" has something to do with *συφεός*, a sty; and that since our own word "Steward" is but "Sty-ward," More obviously had in his mind the Benchers and Stewards of an Inn of Court! Wild and improbable as all this sounds, it is not impossible. More was not above verbal ingenuity of this kind.

[2] Of each city, not of the whole state.

commoners, whiche be verye fewe, they dispatch and ende them by and by.[1] They take ever ii. Siphograuntes to them in counsel, and everi dai a new coupel. And it is provided, that nothinge touchinge the common wealthe shalbe confirmed and ratified, onlesse it have bene reasoned of and debated thre daies in the counsell, before it be decreed. It is deathe to have anye consultation for the common wealthe oute of the counsell, or the place of the common election. This statute, they saye, was made to the entent that the prince and Tranibores might not easilye conspire together to appresse the people by tyrannie, and to chaunge the state of the weale publik. Therfore matters of great weight and importance be broughte to the election house of the Siphograuntes, which open the matter to their families. And afterwarde, when they have consulted amonge themselves, they shew their devise to the counsell. Somtime the matter is brought before the counsel of the whole Ilande. Furthermore this custome also the counsel useth, to dispute or reason of no matter the same daye that it is firste proposed or put furthe, but to defferre it to the nexte syttinge of the counsell. Because that no man when he hath rashely there spoken that commeth to his tonges ende, shall then afterwarde rather studye for reasons wherwith to defende and mainteine his first folish sentence, than for the commoditie of the common wealth: as one rather willing the harme or hindraunce of the weale publike then any losse or diminution of his owne existimation.[2] And as one that would be ashamed (which is a verie folishe shame) to be counted anye thing at the firste

Sutes and controversies betwene partie and partie furthwith to be ended which now a daies of a set purpose be unreasonably delaied

Against hastie and rash decries or statutes

A custome worthye to be used these daies in our counsels and parliamentes

[1] Quickly.

[2] Esteem, estimation.

oversene[1] in the matter. Who at the first ought to have spoken rather wyselye, then hastely, or rashlye.

Of Sciences, Craftes & Ocupations.

HUSBANDRIE is a Science[2] common to them all in generall, bothe men and women, wherein they be all experte and cunning. In this they be all instructe even from their youth: partelie in their scholes with traditions and preceptes, and partlie in the countrey nighe the citie, brought up[3] as it were in playinge, not onely beholding the use of it, but by occasion of exercising their bodies practising it also. Besides husbandrie, whiche (as I saide) is common to them all, everye one of them learneth one or other several[4] and particular science, as his owne proper crafte. That is most commonly either clothworking in wol or flaxe, or masonrie, or the smithes craft, or the carpenters science. For there is none other occupation that any number to speake of doth use there. For their garmentes, whiche throughoute all the Ilande be of one fashion, (savynge that there is a difference betwene the mans garmente and the womans, betwene the maried and the unmaried) and this one continueth for evermore

Husbandrie or tillage practised of all estates, which now a dayes is reject unto a fewe of the basest sort

Siences or occupations should be learned for necessities sake, and not for the maynteanance of riotous excesse and wanton pleasure

[1] Overseen = deceived, or misled. The whole sentence means, "As one that would feel ashamed to be thought deceived in the first instance, *i.e.* he is unwilling to admit that what he said first is wrong, and so devotes all his energies to defending his mistake.

[2] Science is used throughout as knowledge, especially of a trade or craft.

[3] A mistranslation of Robinson's; it should be, "taken out." But the real sense is the same—namely, that of teaching field-work by play, making the field a literal "kindergarten."

[4] Separate.

unchaunged, semely and comelie to the eye, no lette[1] to the movynge and weldynge[2] of the bodye, also fytte both for wynter and summer: as for these garmentes (I saye) every familie maketh their owne. But of the other foresaide craftes everye man learneth one. And not onely the men, but also the women. But the women, as the weaker sort, be put to the easyer craftes: as to worke wolle and flaxe. The more laborsome sciences be committed to the men. For the mooste part every man is broughte up in his fathers crafte. For moste commonlye they be naturallie therto bente and inclined. But yf a mans minde stande to anye other, he is by adoption put into a familye of that occupation, which he doth most fantasy.[3] Whome not onely his father, but also the magistrates do diligently loke to, that he be put to a discrete and an honest householder. Yea, and if anye person, when he hath learned one craft, be desierous to learne also another, he is likewyse suffred and permitted.

Similitude in apparrell

No citizein without a science

To what occupation everyone is naturallie inclined that let him learne

When he hathe learned bothe, he occupieth whether he wyll:[4] onelesse the citie have more neade of the one, then of the other. The chiefe and almooste the onelye offyce of the Syphograuntes is, to see and take hede, that no manne sit idle: but that everye one applye[5] hys owne craft with earnest diligence. And yet for all that, not to be wearied from earlie in the morninge, to late in the evenninge, with continuall worke, like labouringe and toylinge beastes. For this is worse then the miserable and wretched condition of bondemen. Whiche nevertheles is almooste everye where the lyfe of workemen and

Idel persones to be driven out of the weale publique

[1] Hindrance.
[2] Wielding, employment, or use.
[3] Fancy.
[4] He follows which of the two he prefers.
[5] Ply, perform.

artificers, saving in Utopia. For they dividynge the daye and the nyghte into xxiiii. juste[1] houres, appointe and assigne onelye sixe of those houres to woorke, [three] before noone, upon the whiche they go streighte to diner:[2] and after diner, when they have rested two houres, then they worke iii. houres and upon that they go to supper. Aboute eyghte of the cloke in the eveninge (counting one of the clocke at the firste houre after noone) they go to bedde: eyght houres they geve to slepe. All the voide[3] time, that is betwene the houres of worke, slepe, and meate, that they be suffered to bestowe, every man as he liketh best him selfe. Not to thintent[4] that they shold mispend this time in riote or slouthfulnes: but beynge then licensed[5] from the laboure of their owne occupations, to bestow the time well and thriftelye upon some other science, as shall please them. For it is a solempne[6] custome there, to have lectures daylye early in the morning, where to be presente they onely be constrained that be namelye chosen[7] and appoynted to learninge. Howbeit a greate multitude of every sort of people, both men and women go to heare lectures, some one and some an other, as everye mans nature is inclined. Yet, this notwithstanding, if any man had rather bestowe this time upon his owne occupation, (as it chaunceth in manye, whose mindes rise not in the contemplation of any science liberall)[8] he is not letted, nor prohibited, but is also praysed and commended, as profitable to the

A moderation in the laboure and toyle of artificers

The studie of good literature

Playing after supper

[1] Exact, equal.

[2] The text is misleading. The Utopian working day is six hours long, and not nine as seems to be implied. The word "three" was dropped out before "noon" in second edition, though it appears in the first. The Latin has "tres ante meridiem." Thus they work from nine till five with a two hours' interval.

[3] Spare, leisure. [4] The intent. [5] Liberated.

[6] Regular. [7] Chosen by name, specially.

[8] Whose minds do not aspire to pure knowledge.

common wealthe. After supper they bestow one houre in playe: in summer in their gardens: in winter in their commen halles: where they dine and suppe. There they exercise themselves in musike, or els in honest and wholsome communication. Diceplaye, and suche other folishe and pernicious games they know not. But they use ii. games not much unlike the chesse. The one is the battell of numbers, wherein one numbre stealethe awaye another. The other is wherin vices fyghte with vertues, as it were in battel array, or a set fyld. In the which game is verye properlye shewed, bothe the striffe and discorde that vices have amonge themselves, and agayne theire unitye and concorde againste vertues; And also what vices be repugnaunt to what vertues: with what powre and strength they assaile them openlye: by what wieles[1] and subtelty they assaulte them secretely: with what helpe and aide the vertues resiste, and overcome the puissaunce of the vices: by what craft they frustrate their purposes: and finally by what sleight or meanes the one getteth the victory. But here least[2] you be deceaved, one thinge you muste looke more narrowly upon. For seinge they bestowe but vi. houres in woorke, perchaunce you maye thinke that the lacke of some necessarye thinges hereof maye ensewe. But this is nothinge so. For that smal time is not only enough but also to muche for the stooreandabundaunce of all things, that be requisite, either for the necessitie, or commoditie of life. The which thinge you also shall perceave, if you weye and consider with your selfes how great a parte of the people in other contreis lyveth ydle. First almost all women, whyche be the halfe of the whole numbre: or els if the women be somewhere occupied, there most comonlye in their

But now adaies dice-play is the pastime of princes

Plaies or games also profitable

The kyndes and sortes of ydle people

Women

[1] Wiles. [2] Lest.

steade the men be ydle. Besydes this how greate, and howe ydle a companye is there of preystes, and relygious men,[1] as they cal them? put thereto al ryche men, speciallye all landed men, which comonlye be called gentilmen, and noble men. Take into this numbre also theire servauntes: I meane all that flocke of stoute bragging russhe bucklers,[2] them also sturdy and valiaunte[3] beggers, clokinge their idle lyfe under the coloure of some disease or sickenes. And trulye you shal find them much fewer then you thought, by whose labour all these things are wrought, that in mens affaires are now daylye used and frequented.[4] Nowe consyder with youre selfe, of these fewe that doe woorke, how fewe be occupied, in necessarye woorkes. For where money beareth all the swinge,[5] there many vayne and superfluous occupations must nedes be used, to serve only for ryotous superfluite, and unhonest pleasure. For the same multitude that now is occupied in woork, if they were devided into so fewe[6] occupations as the necessarye use of nature requyreth; in so greate plentye of thinges as then of necessity woulde ensue, doubtles the prices wolde be to lytle for the artifycers to maynteyne their livinges. But yf all these, that be nowe busied about unprofitable occupations, with all the whole flocke of them that lyve ydellye and slouthfullye, whyche consume and waste everye one of them more

Priestes religious and men. Riche men and landed men

Joyne to them also sturdy and valiaunte[3] beggers, Servyng-men

Sturdy and valiaunt beggers

Wonderfull wittely spoken

[1] Monks and friars.

[2] Armed retainers. Swashbucklers—"boys of the belt," to use Scott's phrase.

[3] Vigorous: beggars thoroughly able to work.

[4] The construction rather obscures the sense, which is, "you will be astonished to find what a small number of people are engaged in actual productive labour."

[5] Where worth is measured by money; above, we had "where money beareth all the stroke."

[6] So few . . . as = no greater number of . . . than.

of these thinges that come by other mens laboure, then ii. of the workemen themselfes doo: yf all these (I saye) were sette to profytable occupatyons, you easelye perceave howe lytle tyme would be enoughe, yea and to muche to stoore us with all thinges that maye be requisite either for necessitie, or for commoditye, yea or for pleasure, so that the same pleasure be trewe and natural. And this in Utopia the thinge it selfe makethe manifeste and playne. For there in all the citye, with the whole contreye, or shiere adjoyning to it scaselye 500. persons of al the whole numbre of men and women, that be neither to olde, nor to weake to worke, be licensed and discharged from laboure. Amonge them be the Siphograuntes (whoe thoughe they be by the lawes exempte and privileged from labour) yet they exempte not themselfes: to the intent that they may the rather by their example provoke other to worke. The same vacation from labour do they also enjoye, to whome the people persuaded by the commendation of the priestes, and secrete election of the Siphograuntes, have geven a perpetual licence from laboure to learninge.[1] But if any one of them prove not accordinge to the expectation and hoope of him conceaved,[2] he is forthwith plucked backe to the company of artificers. And contrarye wise, often it chaunceth that a handicraftes man doth so earnestly bestowe his vacaunte and spare houres in learninge, and throughe diligence so profyteth therin, that he is taken from his handy[3] occupation, and promoted to the company of the learned. Oute of this ordre of the learned be chosen ambassadours, priestes, Tranibores, and finallye the prince him-

Not asmuche as the magistrates live idelly

Onely learned men called to offices

[1] *I.e.* certain persons, chosen by the priests and magistrates, are allowed to forgo bodily labour, and devote themselves to study.

[2] *I.e.* falsify the hopes and expectations entertained of him.

[3] Manual.

selfe. Whome they in theire olde tonge cal Barzanes,[1] and by a newer name, Ademus.[2] The residewe of the people being neither ydle, nor yet occupied about unprofitable exercises, it may be easely judged in how fewe houres how muche good woorke by them may be doone and dispatched, towardes those thinges that I have spoken of. This commodity they have also above other, that in the most part of necessarye occupations they neade not so much work, as other nations doe. For first of all the buildinge or repayringe of houses asketh everye where so manye mens continual labour, bicause that the unthrifty heire suffereth the houses that his father buylded in contyneuaunce of tyme to fall in decay. So that which he myghte have upholden wyth lytle coste hys successoure is constreyned to buylde it agayne a newe, to his great charge. Yea manye tymes also the howse that stoode one man in[3] muche moneye, another is of so nyce[4] and soo delycate a mynde, that he settethe nothinge by it. And it beynge neglected, and therefore shortelye fallynge into ruyne, he buyldethe uppe another in an other place with no lesse cost and chardge. But amonge the Utopians, where all thinges be sett in a good ordre, and the common wealthe in a good staye,[5] it very seldom chaunceth, that they cheuse a newe plotte to buyld an house upon. And they doo not only finde spedy and quicke remedies for present faultes: but also prevente them that be like to fall. And by this meanes their houses continewe and laste very longe with litle labour and smal reparations: in

How to avoyd excessive cost in building

[1] Doubtless from the Hebrew "Bar," son of, and Ζάν, Doric for *Ζήν, poetical form of Ζεύς, Jupiter.

[2] Misprinted "Adamus" by Robinson. It is from the Greek, α, without, and δῆμος, people. Thus a king with the title "Folkless," rules in "Mistytown" on the river "Waterless" in the land of "Nowhere."

[3] "Stood him in," for "cost him," is a common modern colloquialism.

[4] Particular.

[5] Well settled, on a sure foundation.

so much that this kind of woorkmen somtimes have almost nothinge to doo. But that they be commaunded to hewe timbre at home, and to square and trimme up stones, to the intente that if anye woorke chaunce, it may the spedelier rise. Now, syr, in theire apparell, marke (I praye you) howe few woorkmen they neade. Fyrste of al, whyles they be at woorke, they be covered homely with leather or skinnes, that will last vii. yeares. When they go furthe abrode they caste upon them a cloke, whych hydeth the other homelye apparel. These clookes through out the whole Iland be all of one coloure, and that is the natural coloure of the wul. They therefore do not only spend[1] much lesse wullen clothe then is spente in other contreis, but also the same standeth them in muche lesse coste. But lynen clothe is made with lesse laboure, and is therefore hadde more in use. But in lynen cloth onlye whytenesse, in wullen only clenlynes is regarded. As for the smalnesse or finenesse of the threde, that is no thinge passed for.[2] And this is the cause wherfore in other places iiii. or v. clothe gownes of dyvers coloures, and as manye silke cootes be not enoughe for one man. Yea and yf he be of the delicate and nyse[3] sorte x. be to fewe: whereas there one garmente wyl serve a man mooste commenlye ij. yeares. For whie shoulde he desyre moo?[4] Seinge yf he had them, he should not be the better hapte[5] or covered from colde, neither in his apparel anye whitte the comlyer. Wherefore, seinge they be all exercysed in profitable occupations, and that fewe artificers in the same craftes be sufficiente, this is the cause that plentye of all thinges beinge among them, they doo sometymes bringe forthe an innumerable companye of people to amend the hyghe wayes, yf anye be broken. Many times also, when they have no suche

How to lessen the charge in apparel

[1] Use. [2] Cared nothing for. [3] Nice, particular.
[4] More. [5] Wrapped, covered.

woorke to be occupied aboute, an open proclamation is made, that they shall bestowe fewer houres in worke. For the magistrates doe not exercise theire citizens againste theire willes in unneadefull laboures. For whie[1] in the institution of that weale publique, this ende is onelye and chiefely pretended[2] and mynded, that what time maye possibly be spared from the necessarye occupacions and affayres of the commen wealth, all that[3] the citizeins shoulde withdrawe from the bodely service to the free libertye of the minde, and garnisshinge of the same. For herein they suppose the felicitye of this liffe[4] to consiste.

Of theire Living and Mutual Conversation Togethe r.

BUT nowe wil I declare how the citizens use them selfes one towardes another: what familiar occupieng and enterteynement,[5] there is amonge the people, and what fassion they use in the distribution of every thing. Firste the city consisteth of families,[6] the families most commonlye be made of kinredes.[7] For the women, when they be maryed at a lawefull age, they goo into theire husbandes houses. But the male children with al the whole male ofspringe continewe still in their owne family and be governed of the eldest and auncientest father, onles he dote[8] for age: for then the next to him in

[1] Because.
[2] Put forth, set before them.
[3] Referring to "what time."
[4] Life.
[5] Employment and intercourse.
[6] Households.
[7] Kindreds or relatives.
[8] Become a dotard.

age, is placed in his rowme. But to thintent the prescript number of the citizens shoulde neither decrease, nor above measure increase, it is ordeined that no familie, which in every citie be vi. thousand in the whole, besydes them of the contrey, shall at ones have fewer children of the age of xiiii. yeares or there about then x. or mo then xvi., for of children under this age no numbre can be prescribed or appointed.[1] This measure or numbre is easily observed and kept, by putting them that in fuller families be above the number into families of smaller increase. But if chaunce be that in the whole citie the stoore encrease above the just number, therewith they fil up the lacke of other cities. But if so be that the multitude throughout the whole Ilande passe and excede the dewe number, then they chuese out of every citie certein citezens, and build up a towne under their owne lawes in the next land where the inhabitauntes have muche waste and unoccupied ground, receaving also of the same countrey people to them, if they wil joyne and dwel with them. They thus joyning and dwelling together do easelye agre in one fassion of living, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples. For they so bringe the matter about by theire lawes, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is nowe sufficiente and fruteful enoughe for them both. But if the inhabitauntes of that lande wyl not dwell with them to be ordered by their lawes, then they dryve them out of those boundes which they have limited,[2] and apointed out for them selves. And if they resiste and rebel, then they make warre agaynst

The numbre of citizens

[1] This is obscure. What is meant is this: No city with its environs may contain more than six thousand families; and no family may contain less than ten or more than sixteen adults. Robinson's phrase, "children of the age of fourteen or thereabouts" signifies "adults." There was no rule about the number of children below the age of fourteen.

[2] Marked out, defined.

them. For they counte this the moste juste cause of warre, when anye people holdethe a piece of grounde voyde and vacaunt to no good nor profitable use, kepyng other from the use and possession of it, whiche notwithstandyng by the lawe of nature ought thereof to be nouryshed and relieved. If anye chaunce do so muche diminishe the number of any of theire cities, that it cannot be fylled up agayne, without the diminishynge of the just numbre of the other cyties (whiche they saye chaunced but twyse synce the beginnyng of the lande throughe a greate pestilente plage) then they fulfyll and make up the numbre with cytezens fetched out of theire owne forreyne townes,[1] for they had rather suffer theire forreyne townes to decaye and peryshe, then any cytie of theire owne Ilande to be diminished. But nowe agayne to the conversation[2] of the cytezens amonge themselfes. The eldeste (as I sayde) rulethe the familye. The wyfes bee ministers to theire husbandes, the children to theire parentes, and to bee shorte the yonger to theire elders.

So might we well be discharged and eased of the ydle company of servyngmen

Every Cytie is devided into foure equall partes or quarters. In the myddes of every quarter there is a market place of all maner of thinges. Thether the workes of every familie be brought into certeyne houses. And everye kynde of thing is layde up severall[3] in bernes[4] or store houses. From hence the father of everye familye, or every housholder fetchethe whatsoever he and his have neade of, and carieth it away with him without money, without exchaunge, without any gage, pawne, or pledge. For whye shoulde any thing be denyed unto him? seynge there is abundaunce of all thinges, and that it is not to bee feared, leste anye man wyll aske more then he neadeth. For whie should it

[1] Towns on the mainland, occupied by Utopians.
[2] Intercourse. [3] Separately. [4] Barns.

be thoughte that that man woulde ask more then anough, which is sewer[1] never to lacke? Certeynely in all kyndes of lyvinge creatures either feare of lacke dothe cause covetousnes and ravyne,[3] or in man only pryde, which counteth it a glorious thinge to passe and excel other in the superfluous and vayne ostentation of thinges. The whyche kynde of vice amonge the Utopians can have no place. Nexte to the market places that I spoke of, stande meate markettes:[4] whether be brought not only all sortes of herbes, and the fruites of trees, with breade, but also fishe, and all maner of iiii. footed beastes, and wilde foule that be mans meate. But first the fylthynes and ordure therof is clene washed awaye in the renninge ryver without the cytie in places appoynted mete for the same purpose. From thence the beastes be brought in kylled, and cleane washed by the handes of theire bondemen. For they permitte not their frie citezens to accustome them selfes to the killing of beastes, through the use whereof they thinke, clemencye the genteleste affection of oure nature by lytle and lytle to decaye and peryshe. Neither they suffer anye thinge that is fylthye, lothesome, or unclenlye, to be broughte into the cytie, least the ayre by the stenche therof infected and corrupte, shoulde cause pestilente diseases. Moreover everye strete hath certeyne great large halles sett in equal distaunce one from another, everye one knowen by a severall name. In these halles dwell the Syphograuntes. And to everye one of the same halles be apoynted xxx. families, on either side xv. The stewardes of everye halle at a certayne houre come in to the meate

The cause of covetous[2] and extortion

Of the slaughter of beastes we have learned manslaughter

Fylth and ordure bring the infection of pestilence into Cyties

[1] Sure.
[2] Covetise, covetousness.
[3] Plunder, rapine.
[4] Meat = food, and not flesh only.

markettes, where they receyve meate accordinge to the number of their halles.[1] But first and chieflie of all, respect is had to the sycke, that be cured[2] in the hospitalles. For in the circuite of the citie, a litle without the walles, they have iiii. hospitalles,[3] so bigge so wyde, so ample, and so large, that they may seme iiii. litle townes, which were devised of that bignes partely to thintent the sycke, be they never so many in numbre, shuld not lye to thronge or strayte,[4] and therefore uneasely, and incommodiously: and partely that they which were taken and holden with contagious diseases, suche as be wonte by infection to crepe from one to another, myght be layde apart farre from the company of the residue. These hospitalles be so wel appointed, and with al thinges necessary to health so furnished, and more over so diligent attendaunce through the continual presence of cunning phisitians is given, that though no man be sent thether against his will, yet notwithstandinge there is no sicke persone in al the citie, that had not rather lye there, then at home in his owne house. When the stewarde of the sicke hath received suche meates as the phisitians have prescribed, then the beste is equallye devided among the halles, according to the company of every one, saving that there is had a respect to the prince, the byshop, the tranibours, and to ambassadours and all straungers, if there be any, which be verye fewe and seldome. But they also when they be there, have certeyne severall[5] houses apointed and prepared for them. To these halles at the set houres of dinner and supper commeth all the

Care, diligence and attendance about the sicke

[1] *I.e.* the number of people in their halls.

[2] Under care, or under treatment.

[3] The London of More's time had one hospital only, St. Bartholomew's.

[4] To thronge = too thronged; to strayte = too confined, too cramped for room.

[5] Separate (as often here).

whole Siphograuntie or warde, warned by the noyse of a brasen trumpet: excepte suche as be sicke in the hospitalles, or els in their owne houses. Howbeit no man is prohibited or forbid, after the halles be served, to fetch home meate out of the market to his own house, For they knowe that no man wyl doe it without a cause reasonable. For thoughe no man be prohibited to dyne at home, yet no man doth it willyngly: because it is counted a pointe of smal honestie.[1] And also it were a follye to take the payne to dresse a badde diner at home, when they may be welcome to good and fyne fare so neighe hande at the hall. In this hal al vile service, all slavery, and drudgerie, with all laboursome toyle, and base busines is done by bondemen. But the women of every family by course[2] have the office and charge of cookerie for sethinge and dressinge the meate, and orderinge all thinges therto belongyng. They sit at three tables or moe, accordinge to the numbre of their company. The men sitte upon the bench next the wall, and the women againste them on the other side of the table, yet yf anye sodeyne evyll should chaunce to them, as manye tymes happeneth to women with chylde, they maye rise wythoute trouble or disturbuance of anye bodie, and go thence into the nurcerie. The nurceis sitte severall alone with theyr younge suckelinges in a certaine parloure appointed and deputed to the same purpose, never without fire and cleane water, nor yet without cradels, that when they wyll they maye laye downe the younge infantes, and at theyr pleasure take them oute of their swathynge clothes, and holde them to the fire, and refreshe them with playe. Every mother

Every man is at his libertie so that nothing is done by compulsion

Women bothe dresse and serve the meate

Nourceis

[1] Honesty = honour; so that "small honesty" amounts really to "bad form," or a breach of public manners.

[2] By turns.

is nource to her owne childe, onles either death, or sycknes be the let.[1] When that chaunceth, the wives of the Syphograuntes quyckelye provyde a nource. And that is not harde to be done. For they that can doo it, profer themselves to no service so gladlye as to that. Because that there thys kinde of pitie is muche praysed: and the chylde that is nourished, ever after taketh his nource for his owne naturall mother. Also amonge the nourceis, sytte all the children that be under the age of v. yeares. All the other chyldren of bothe kyndes, as well boyes as girles, that be under the age of maryage, do eyther serve at the tables, or els if they be to yonge therto, yet they stand by with marvailous silence. That whiche is geven to them from the table they eate, and other severall dynner tyme they have none. The Siphograunte and his wife sitte in the myddes of the high table, farasmuch as that is counted the honorablest place, and because from thence all the whole companie is in their sight. For that table standeth overwharte[2] the over[3] ende of the hall. To them be joyned two of the auncientest and eldest. For at everye table they sit foure at a meesse.[4] But yf there be a church standing in that Syphograuntie or warde, then the priest and his wife sitteth with the Siphograunt, as chiefe in the company. On both sydes of them sit yonge men, and nexte unto them againe olde men. And thus through out all the house equall of age be sette together, and yet be mixt and matched with unequal ages. This, they say, was ordeyned, to the intent that the sage gravitie and reverence of the elders should kepe the

Nothing soner provoketh men to well doyng then praise and commendation

The education of yonge children

The yong mixed with their elders

[1] Be the hindrance.
[2] Athwart, across.
[3] Upper.
[4] Mess: as we use the word "mess" to describe the common table in ships, regiments, etc.

yongers from wanton licence of wordes and behavioure. Forasmuch as nothynge can be so secretlye spoken or done at the table, but either they that sit on the one side or on the other muste nedes perceave it. The dishes be not set down in order from the first place but all the olde men (whose places be marked with some speciall token to be knowen) be first served of their meate, and then the residue equally. The old men devide their deinties[1] as they think best to the yonger on eche syde of them.

Olde men regarded and reverenced

Thus the elders be not defrauded of their dewe honoure, and neverthelesse equall commoditie commeth to every one.[2] They begin everye dinner and supper of redinge[3] sumthing that perteneth to good maners and vertue. But it is shorte, because no man shalbe greved[4] therwith. Hereof thelders[5] take occasion of honest communication, but neither sadde nor unpleasaunt. Howbeit they do not spende all the whole dinertime themselves with longe and tedious talkes: but they gladly heare also the yonge men: yea, and purposelye provoke them to talke, to thentent that they may have a profe of every mans wit, and towardnes,[6] or disposition to vertue, which commonlie in the libertie of feasting doth shew and utter it self. Their diners be verie short: but their suppers be sumwhat longer, because that after dyner foloweth laboure, after supper slepe and natural reste, whiche they thinke to be of more strength and efficacie to wholsome and healthfull

This nowe a daies is observed in oure universities

Talke at the table

This is repugnaunt to the opinion of our phisitions

[1] Robinson omits here a parenthesis, which amounts to, "if there be not enough to go all round."
[2] Every one's convenience is considered.
[3] By reading.
[4] Bothered, annoyed.
[5] The elders.
[6] Inclinations, bent.

digestion. No supper is passed without musicke. Nor their bankettes[1] lacke no conceytes nor jonketes.[2] They burne swete gummes and spices or perfumes, and pleasaunt smelles, and sprinckle aboute swete oyntementes and waters, yea, they leave nothing undone that maketh for the cheringe of the companye. For they be muche enclined to this opinion: to thinke no kinde of pleasure forbydden, whereof commeth no harme. Thus therfore and after this sort they live togethers in the citie, but in the countrey they that dwell alone farre from any neighboures, do dyne and suppe at home in their owne houses. For no familie there lacketh any kinde of victualles, as from whom[3] commeth all that the citezens eate and lyve by.

Musicke at the table

Pleasure without harme not discommendable

Of their Journeyng or Travalying Abrode with Divers other Matters Cunninglye Reasoned and Wyttilye Discussed.

BUT if any be desierous to visite either theyr frendes dwelling in an other citie, or to see the place it selfe: they easelie obteyne licence of their Siphograuntes and Tranibores, onlesse there be some profitable let.[4] No man goeth out alone but a

[1] Banquets (connected, of course, with "banc," a bench).
[2] "Conceits and junkets" simply stand for fancy eatables, dainties, confectionery, and so forth.
[3] Since from the country-folk come all victuals for the city.
[4] Some hindrance which makes it advisable to keep them at home.

companie is sente furth together with their princes letters, which do testifie that they have licence to go that journey, and prescribeth also the day of their retourne. They have a wageyn geven them, with a common bondman, which driveth the oxen, and taketh charge of them. But onles they have women in their companie, they sende home the wageyn againe, as an impediment and a let. And thoughe they carye nothynge furth with them, yet in all their jorney they lack nothing. For whersoever they come, they be at home. If they tary in a place longer then one daye, than[1] there every one of them falleth to his owne occupation, and be very gentilly enterteined[2] of the workemen and companies of the same craftes. If any man of his owne heade[3] and without leave, walke out of his precinct and boundes, taken without the princes letters, he is broughte againe for a fugitive or a runaway with greate shame and rebuke, and is sharpely punished. If he be taken in that fault againe, he is punished with bondage. If anye be desirous to walke abrode into the feldes, or into the countrey that belongeth to the same citie that he dwelleth in, obteininge the good wil of his father, and the consente of his wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of the contrei soever he commeth he hath no meat geven him until he have wrought out his forenones[4] taske, or dispatched so muche work, as there is wont to be wrought before supper. Observing this law and condition, he may go whether he wil within the boundes of his own citie. For he shalbe no les profitable to the citie, then if he were within it. Now you se how litle liberte they have to loiter: howe they can have no cloke or pretence to ydlenes. There be neither winetavernes, nor ale houses, nor stewes, nor anye occasion of vice or

[1] Then.
[2] Kindly treated.
[3] His own authority, without permission.
[4] Forenoon, morning.

wickednes, no lurkinge corners, no places of wycked counsels or unlawfull assembles. But they be in the presente sighte,[1] and under the eies of every man. So that of necessitie they must either apply[2] their accustomed labours, or els recreate themselves with honest and laudable pastimes. This fashion and trade of life, being used amonge the people, it cannot be chosen, but that they muste of necessitie have store and plentie of all thinges. And seyng they be all therof parteners equallie, therefore can no man there be poore or nedie. In the counsell of Amaurot, whether,[3] as I said, every citie sendeth three men a pece yearly, assone as it is perfectly knowen of what thinges ther is in every place plentie, and againe what thinges be skant in any place: incontinent the lacke of the one is perfourmed[4] and filled up with the aboundance of the other. And this they do frely without anye benefite, taking nothing againe of them, to whom the thinges is given, but those cities that have geven of their store to any other citie that lacketh, requiring nothing againe of the same citie, do take suche thinges as they lacke of an other citie, to the which they gave nothinge. So the whole ylande is as it were one familie, or housholde. But when they have made sufficient provision of store for themselves (which they thinke not done, until they have provided for two yeres folowinge, because of the uncertentie of the next yeares proffe)[5] then of those thinges, wherof they have abundaunce, they carie furth into other countreis great plentie: as grayne, honnie,

O holy common wealth, and of Christians to be folowed

Equalitie is the cause that every man hath enoughe

A common wealthe is nothing elles but a great household

[1] In full view. [2] Ply, work at. [3] Whither.

[4] Immediately the deficiency in one place is filled up from the superfluity of the other.

[5] Proof: the sentence means: "because it is uncertain whether next year's production will prove sufficient."

wulle, flaxe, woode, madder, purple die, felles,[1] waxe, tallowe, lether, and lyvinge beastes. And the seventh parte of all these thynges they geve franckelye and frelie to the pore of that countrey. The residewe they sell at a reasonable and meane price. By this trade of traffique or marchaundise, they bring into their own countrey, not only great plenty of golde and silver, but also all suche thynges as they lacke at home, whiche is almoste nothinge but Iron. And by reason they have longe used this trade, nowe they have more aboundaunce of these thinges, then anye man wyll beleve. Nowe therfore they care not whether they sell for readye money, or els upon truste to be payed at a daye, and to have the mooste parte in debtes.

The traffique and merchaundise of the Utopians

But in so doynge[2] they never followe the credence of privat men:[3] but the assuraunce or warrauntise[4] of the whole citie, by instrumentes[5] and writinges made in that behalfe accordingly. When the daye of paiement is come and expired, the citie gathereth up the debte of the private debtoures,[6] and putteth it into the common boxe, and so longe hathe the use and profite of it, untill the Utopians their creditours demaunde it. The mooste parte of it they never aske. For that thynge whiche is to them no profite to take it from other, to whom it is profitable: they thinke it no righte nor conscience.[7] But if the case so stand,

In all thinges and above all thinges to their communitie thei have an eye

By what pollicie money may be in lesse estimation

[1] Felles = skins. Robinson's text reads "purple died fells," which is wrong, two separate things being meant. The reading above is that of the first edition, with a comma supplied.

[2] Should be, "But in so lending."

[3] Never trust the credit of private persons—they trade with the community, not with individuals. [4] Guarantee. [5] Agreements.

[6] *I.e.* the city with which Utopia is trading collects the payments of its own citizens, since the Utopians, as noted above, trade with the city, not with individuals.

[7] They think it unconscionable, or a hard bargain, to take something they do not want from those who do.

that they must lende part of that money to an other people, then they require theyr debte: or when they have warre. For the whiche purpose onelye they kepe at home all the treasure, whiche they have, to be holpen and socoured by it either in extreame jeopardyes, or in suddeine daungers. But especiallye and chiefelie to hiere therewith, and that for unreasonable greate wayges, straunge [1] soldiours. For they hadde rather put straungers in jeopardie, then theyr owne countreyemen: knowynge that for money ynoughe, their enemyes themselves many times may be boughte or solde, or elles throughe treason be sette togethers by the eares amonge themselves. For this cause they kepe an inestimable treasure. But yet not as a treasure: but so they have it, and use it, as in good faythe I am ashamed to shewe: fearinge that my woordes shall not be beleved. And this I have more cause to feare, for that I knowe howe difficultlie and hardelye I meselfe would have beleved an other man tellinge the same, if I hadde not presentlye [2] sene it with mine owne eyes.

It is better either with money or by pollicie to avoyde warre, then with muche loss of mans bloud to fight

O fine wytte

For it muste neades be, that howe farre a thynge is dissonaunt and disagreing from the guise and trade [3] of the hearers, so farre shall it be out of theire belefe. Howebeit, a wise and indifferent estimer [4] of thynges will not greatlye marveill perchaunce, seynge all theyr other lawes and customes do so muche differre from oures, yf the use also of gold and sylver amonge them be applied, rather to their owne fashyons, than to oures. I meane in that they occupie not [5] money themselves, but kepe it for that chaunce, whiche as it maye happen, so it maye be, that it shall never

[1] Foreign.
[2] Being present myself.
[3] Guise = manners, or fashion. Trade = ways, or customs.
[4] Impartial estimator, or judge.
[5] Do not use money, or trade with money.

come to passe. In the meane time golde and sylver, whereof money is made, they do so use, as none of them doethe more esteme it, then the verye nature of the thing deserveth. And then who doeth not playnelye se howe farre it is under Iron: as without the whiche men can no better lyve then without fiere and water. Whereas to golde and silver nature hath geven no use, that we may not well lacke: if that the follye of men hadde not sette it in higher estimation for the rarenesse sake. But of the contrarie parte, nature as a mooste tender and lovynge mother, hathe placed the beste and mooste necessarie thinges open abroade: as the ayere, the water, and the yearth[1] it selfe. And hathe removed and hyd farthest from us vayne and unprofitable thinges. Therefore if these metalles amonge them shoulde be faste locked up in some tower, it might be suspected, that the prince and the counsell (as the people is ever foolishelie ymaginynge) intended by some subtiltie to deceave the commons, and to take some profite of it to themselves. Furthermore if they shold make therof plate and suche other finelie and cunninglie wroughte stuffe: if at anye time they should have occasion to breake it: and melt it againe, therewith to paye their souldiers wages, they see and perceave verye well, that men woulde be lothe to parte from those thinges, that they ones begonne to have pleasure and delite in. To remedie all this they have founde oute a meanes, whiche, as it is agreable to all their other lawes and customes, so it is from oures,[2] where golde is so much set by, and so diligently kept, very farre discripant and repugnaunt: and therfore uncredible, but onelye to them that be wise. For where as they eate and drinke in earthen and glasse vesselles, whiche

Golde worse then yron as touchynge the necessarie use therof

[1] Earth.

[2] From our customs; "from" depends upon "discrepant and repugnant."

in dede be curiouslye and properlie[1] made, and yet be of very small value: of golde and sylver they make commonly chaumber pottes, and other vesselles, that serve for moste vile uses, not onely in their common halles, but in every mans private house. Furthermore of the same mettalles they make greate chaines, fetters, and gieves[2] wherin they tie their bondmen. Finally whosoever for anye offense be infamed,[3] by their eares hange rynges of golde: upon their fyngers they weare rynges of golde, and aboute their neckes chaines of golde: and in conclusion their heades be tied aboute with gold. Thus by al meanes possible thei procure to have golde and silver among them in reproche and infamie. And these mettalles, which other nations do as grevously and sorrowefullye forgo,[4] as in a manner their owne lives: if they should altogethers at ones[5] be taken from the Utopians, no man there would thinke that he had lost the worth of one farthing. They gather also pearles by the sea side, and Diamondes and carbuncles upon certen rocks, and yet they seke not for them: but by chaunce finding them, they cut and polish them. And therwith thei deck their yonge infauntes. Whiche like as in the first yeres of their childhod, they make muche and be fonde and proude of such ornamentes, so when they be a litle more growen in yeares and discretion, perceiving that none but children do weare such toies and trifels: they lay them awaye even of their owne shamefastenesse,[6] wythoute anye byddynge of their parentes: even as oure chyldren,

O wonderfull contumelie of golde

Golde the reprochful badge of infamed persons

Gemmes and precious stones, toyes for yonge children to playe withall

[1] Elaborately and handsomely.
[2] Gyves.
[3] Infamous, held in disrepute or infamy.
[4] Do without.
[5] Once.
[6] "Shamefastness" is the correct form, of which "shamefacedness" is merely a corruption.

when they waxe bygge, doo caste awaye nuttes, brouches, and puppettes.[1] Therfore these lawes and customes, whiche be so farre differente from al other nations, howe divers fantasies also and myndes they doo cause, dydde I never so playnelie perceave, as in the Ambassadoures of the Anemolians.[2]

These Ambassadoures came to Amaurote whiles I was there. And because they came to entreate of great and weightie matters, those three citizens a pece oute of everie city[3] were comen thether before them. But all the Ambassadours of the nexte countreis, whiche had bene there before, and knewe the fashions and maners of the Utopians, amonge whom they perceaved no honoure geven to sumptuous apparell, silkes to be contemned, golde also to be infamed and reprochful,[4] were wont to come thether in verie homelye and simple araie. But the Anemolianes because they dwell farre thence, and had very litle aquaintaunce with them: hearinge that they were all apparelled alike, and that verie rudely and homely: thinkinge them not to have the thinges whiche they did not weare: being therfore more proude, then wise: determyned in the gorgiousnes of their apparel to representе verye goddes, and wyth the brighte shyninge and glisterynge of their gay clothing to dasell the eyes of the silie[5] poore Utopians. So there came in iii. Ambassadours with c.[6] servauntes all apparelled in chaungeable colours:[7] the moste of them in silkes: the Ambassadours themselves (for at home in their owne countrey they were noble men) in cloth of gold, with great cheines of gold, with golde

A very pleasaunt tale

[1] Nuts, trinkets, and dolls; and so, "childish things" in general.

[2] ἀνεμώλιος = windy; so the Anemolians are the windy, inflated, boastful people.

[3] The three mentioned at the beginning of Book Two, who are sent out of every city to Amaurote as counsellors.

[4] Disreputable and implying reproach.

[5] Simple.

[6] A hundred.

[7] Probably what we should call "shot" material.

hanginge at their eares, with gold ringes upon their fingers, with brouches and aglettes[1] of gold upon their cappes, which glistered ful of peerles and precious stones: to be short trimmed, and adourned with al those thinges, which among the Utopians were either the punishement of bondmen, or the reproche of infamed persones, or elles trifels for yonge children to playe withal. Therefore it wolde have done a man good at his harte to have sene howe proudelye they displeyed theire pecockes fethers, howe muche they made of theire paynted sheathes,[2] and howe loftely they set forth and advaunced them selfes, when they compared their gallaunte apparrell with the poore rayment of the Utopians. For al the people were swarmed forth into the stretes. And on the other side it was no lesse pleasure to consider howe muche they were deceaved, and how farre they missed of their purpose, being contrary wayes taken then they thought they should have bene. For to the eyes of all the Utopians, excepte very fewe, which had bene in other countreys for some resonable cause, all that gorgeousnes of apparrel semed shamefull and reprocheful. In so muche that they most reverently saluted the vilest and moste abject of them for lordes: passing over the Ambassadoures themselfes without any honour: judging them by their wearing of golden cheynes to be bondmen. Yea you shoulde have sene children also, that had caste away their peerles and pretious stones, when they sawe the like sticking upon the Ambassadours cappes, digge and pushe theire mothers under the sides, sainge thus to them. Loke mother how great a lubbor[3] doth yet were peerles and precious stoones, as though he were a litel child stil. But the mother, yea and that

O wittie head

[1] Aglets, aiglets, or aiguillettes—tags or points; applied to the shoulder-knots and loops of braid in certain uniforms.

[2] Their dresses—coverings, external trappings.

[3] A lubber, a booby.

also in good earnest: peace, sone, saithe she: I thinke he be some of the Ambassadours fooles.[1] Some founde faulte at theire golden cheines, as to no use nor purpose, being so smal and weake, that a bondeman might easely breake them, and agayne so wyde and large, that when it pleased him, he myght cast them of, and runne awaye at libertye whether he woulde. But when the Ambassadoures hadde bene there a daye or ii. and sawe so greate abundaunce of gold so lyghtely esteimed, yea in no lesse reproche, then it was with them in honour: and besides that more golde in the cheines and gieves of one fugitive bondman, then all the costelye ornaments of them iii. was worth: they beganne to abate their courage,[2] and for very shame layde away al that gorgyouse arraye, whereof theye were so proud. And specyally when they had talked familiarlye with the Utopians, and had learned al theire fassions and opinions.

For they[3] marveyle that any men be so folyshe, as to have delite and pleasure in the doubteful glisteringe of a lytil tryffelynge stone, which[4] maye beholde annye of the starres, or elles the sonne it selfe. Or that anye man is so madde, as to count him selfe the nobler for the smaller or fyner threde of wolle, which selfe same wol (be it now in never so fyne a sponne threde) a shepe did ones weare: and yet was she all that time no other thing then a shepe. They marveile also that golde, whych of the owne nature[5] is a thinge so unprofytable, is nowe amonge all people in so hyghe estimation, that man him selfe, by whome, yea and for the use of whome it is so much set by, is in muche lesse estimation, then the golde itselfe. In so muche that a lumpyshe

Doubteful he calleth it, either in consideration and respecte of counterfeite stones, or elles he calleth doubteful very littel worthe

[1] Jesters.
[2] Lose their spirits or pride.
[3] The Utopians.
[4] Referring, of course, to "men."
[5] *I.e.* of its own nature, in itself.

blockehedded churle, and whyche hathe no more wytte then an asse, yea and as ful of noughtynes[1] as of follye, shall have nevertheles manye wyse and good men in subjectyon and bondage, only for this, bycause he hath a greate heape of golde, Whyche yf it shoulde be taken from hym by anye fortune, or by some subtyll wyle and cautele[2] of the lawe, (whyche no lesse then fortune dothe bothe raise up the lowe, and plucke downe the highe) and be geven to the moste vile slave and abject dryvell[3] of all his housholde, then shortely after he shal goo into the service of his servaunt, as an augmentation or overplus beside his money. But they muche more marvell at and detest the madnes of them, whyche to those riche men, in whose debte and daunger they be not, do give almost divine honoures, for none other consideration, but bicause they be riche: and yet knowing them to bee suche nigeshe penny fathers,[4] that they be sure as longe as they live, not the worthe of one farthinge of that heape of gold shall come to them.

A true saing and a wittie

Howe muche more witte is in the heades of the Utopianes then of the common sorte of christianes

These and such like opinions have they conceaved, partely by education, beinge brought up in that common wealth, whose lawes and customes be farre different from these kindes of folly, and partely by good litterature and learning. For though there be not many in every citie, which be exempte and discharged of all other laboures, and appointed only to learning, that is to saye: suche in whome even from theire very childhode they have perceaved a singular towardnes, a fyne witte, and a minde apte to good learning: yet all in their childhode be instructe in learninge. And the better parte of the people, bothe men and women throughe oute all their whole lyffe doo bestowe in learninge those

[1] Evil, wickedness.
[2] Quibble.
[3] Driveller, fool.
[4] Niggardly skinflints.

spare houres, which we sayde they have vacante from bodelye laboures. They be taughte learninge in their owne natyve tong. For it is bothe copious in woordes, and also pleasaunte to the eare : and for the utteraunce of a mans minde verye perfecte and sure. The mooste parte of all that syde of the wordle [1] useth the same langage, savinge that amonge the Utopians it is fyneste and pureste, and accordinge to the dyversytye of the countreys it is dyverslye alterede. Of all these Philosophers, whose names be heare famous in this parte of the worlde to us knowen, before oure cummynge thether not asmuche as the fame of annye of them was cumen amonge them. And yet in Musike, Logike, Arythmetyke, and Geometrye they have founde oute in a manner all that oure auncient Philosophers have tawghte. But as they in all thinges be almoste equal to oure olde auncyente clerkes,[2] so our newe Logiciens in subtyl inventions have farre passed and gone beyonde them. For they have not devysed one of all those rules of restrictions, amplifications and suppositions,[3] verye wittleye invented in the small Logicalles,[4] whyche heare oure children in every place do learne. Furtheremore they were never yet hable to fynde out the seconde intentions :[5] insomuche that none of them all coulde ever see man

The studies and literature amonge the Utopianes

Musicke Logike Arithmetike Geometrie

In this place semethe to be a nipping taunte

[1] World. This transposition of letters is not uncommon in our older literature.

[2] Scholars, learned persons.

[3] Technical terms for logical hair-splittings.

[4] Little books on Logic "Paroa Logicalia" is the title (so the commentators say), of the seventh section of the *Summulae Logicales* of Petrus Hispanus, a famous treatise in its day. More suggests in one of his letters that "little logicals" are well named, as they usually contain little logic.

[5] Lumby quotes from Thomson's "Laws of Thought" this in explanation of "second intentions." "Logic is said, in the language of the old authors, to be concerned only with *second notions* or *intentions*. Notions are of two kinds ; they either have regard to

himselfe in commen,[1] as they cal him, thoughe he be (as you knowe) bygger than ever was annye gyaunte, yea and poynted to of us[2] even wyth our finger. But they be in the course of the starres, and the movynges of the heavenly spheres verye expert and cunnynge. They have also wittely excogitated and divised instrumentes of divers fassions: wherein is exactly comprehended and conteyned the movynges and situations of the sonne, the mone, and of al the other starres, which appere in theire horizon. But as for the amityes and dissentions of the planettes,[3] and all that deceyteful divination by the starres, they never as much as dreamed thereof. Raynes, windes, and other courses of tempestes they knowe before by certeine tokens, which they have learned by long use and observation. But of the causes of al these thinges and of the ebbinge, flowinge, and saltnes of the sea, and finallye of the original begynnyge and nature of heaven and of the worlde, they holde partelye the same opinions that oure olde Philosophers hold, and partely, as our Philosophers varye among themselfes, so they also, whiles they bringe newe reasons of thinges, do disagree from all them, and yet among themselfes in all poyntes they doe not accorde. In that part of Philosophie, which

Astronomie

Yet emonge christians this geere is highli estemed thies daies

Naturall philosophie is a knowledge most uncertein

Moral philosophie

things as they are, and are called *first* notions; or to things as they are understood, and in this respect are called *second* notions. The first intentions precede in order of time. Now Logic is not so much employed upon first notions of things as upon second, *i.e.* it is not so much occupied with things as they exist in nature, but with the way in which the mind conceives them. The first intention of every word is its real meaning, the second intention its logical value according to the function of thought to which it belongs."

[1] The logical universal abstract "man," which is at once no man at all, and all the men that ever were: Man in his quiddity, as Lamb would say.

[2] By us.

[3] The planetary conjunctions and oppositions, which astrologers supposed to determine a person's character and future.

intreateth of manners and vertue, theire reasons and opinions agree with ours. They dispute of the good qualityes of the sowle, of the body, and of fortune. And whether the name of goodnes maye be applied to all these, or onlye to the endowementes and giftes of the soule.

The order of good thinges

They reason of vertue and pleasure. But the chiefe and principall question is in what thinge, be it one or moe, the felicitye of man consistethe. But in this poynte they seme almooste to muche geven and enclyned to the opinion of them, which defende pleasure, wherein they determine either all or the chiefyste parte of mans felicitye to reste. And (whyche is more to bee marveled at) the defense of this soo deyntye and delicate an opinion, they fetche even from theire grave, sharpe, bytter, and rygorous[1] religion. For they never dispute of felicity or blessednes, but they joine unto the reasons of Philosophye certeyne principles taken oute of religion: wythoute the whyche to the investigation of trewe felicitye they thynke reason of it selfe weake and unperfecte. Those principles be these and such lyke. That the soule is immortal, and by the bountiful goodnes of God ordeined to felicitie. That to oure vertues and good deades[2] rewardes be appointed after this life, and to our evel deades punishmentes. Though these be perteyning to religion, yet they thincke it mete that they shoulde be beleved and graunted by profes[3] of reason. But yf these principles were condempned and dysanulled, then without anye delaye they pronounce no man to be so folish, whiche woulde

The endes of good thinges

The Utopianes holde opynion that felycytie consistethe in honest pleasure

The principles of philosophye grounded upon religion

The theologie of the Utopianes

The immortalitie of the soule, wherof these dayes certeine Christianes be in doubte

[1] Better "their austere, sober, and severe religion."
[2] Deeds.
[3] Proofs.

not do all his diligence and endevoure to obteyne pleasure be ryght or wronge, onlye avoydynge this inconvenience, that the lesse pleasure should not be a let or hinderaunce to the bigger: or that he laboured not for that pleasure, whiche would bringe after it displeasure, greefe, and sorrow. For they judge it extreame madnes to folowe sharpe and peinful vertue, and not only to bannishe the pleasure of life, but also willingly to suffer griefe, without anye hope of proffit thereof ensuinge. For what proffit can there be, if a man, when he hath passed over all his lyfe unpleasauntly, that is to say, miserablye, shall have no rewarde after his death? But nowe syr they thinke not felicitie to reste in all pleasure, but only in that pleasure that is good and honeste, and that hereto, as to perfet blessednes our nature is allured and drawen even of vertue, whereto onlye they that be of the contrary opinion do attribute felicitie. For they define vertue to be life ordered according to nature, and that we be hereunto ordeined of god. And that he dothe followe the course of nature, which in desiering and refusinge thinges is ruled by reason. Furthermore that reason doth chiefely and principallye kendle in men the love and veneration of the devine majestie. Of whose goodnes it is that we be, and that we be in possibilitie to attayne felicite. And that secondarely it bothe stirrethe and provoketh us to leade our lyfe oute of care in joy and mirth, and also moveth us to helpe and further all other in respecte of the societe of nature to obteine and enjoye the same. For there was never man so earnest and paineful a follower of vertue and hater of pleasure, that wold so injoyne you laboures, watchinges, and fastinges, but he would also exhort you to ease, lighten, and relieve, to your

As every pleasure ought not to be imbraced so grefe is not to be pursued but for vertues sake

In this definition of vertue they agre with the Stoicians

The worke and effecte of reason in man

powre, the lack and misery of others, praysing the same as a dede of humanitie and pitie. Then if it be a poynte of humanitie for man to bring health and comforte to man, and speciallye (which is a vertue moste peculiarlye belonging to man) to mitigate and assuage the greife of others, and by takyng from them the sorowe and hevynes of lyfe, to restore them to joye, that is to saye, to pleasure: whie maye it not then be sayd, that nature doth provoke everye man to doo the same to himselfe? For a joyfull lyfe, that is to say, a pleasaunt lyfe is either evel: and if it be so, then thou shouldest not onlye helpe no man therto, but rather, as much as in the[1] lieth, withdrawe all men frome it, as noysome and hurteful, or els if thou not only mayste, but also of dewty art bound to procure it to others, why not chiefely to the selfe? To whome thou art bound to shew as much favoure and gentelnes as to other. For when nature biddeth the to be good and gentle to other she commaundeth the not to be cruell and ungentle to the selfe. Therefore even very nature (saye they) prescribeth to us a joyful lyfe, that is to say, pleasure as the ende of all oure operations. And they define vertue to be lyfe ordered accordynge to the prescripte of nature. But in that that nature dothe allure and provoke men one to healpe another to lyve merily (which suerly she doth not without a good cause: for no man is so farre above the lotte of mans state or condicion, that nature dothe carke[2] and care for hym onlye, whiche equallye favourethe all,

But nowe a daies some ther bee that wyllinglye procure unto themselves painefull griefes, as thoughe therin rested some hieghe pointe of religion, wheras rather the religiously disposed person, yf they happen to him either by chaunce or elles by naturall necessitie, ought pacientlye to receave and suffer them

[1] Thee.

[2] With the same meaning as "care" and usually (by attraction of sound) found with it—like "toil and moil," "growl and grumble," and so on.

that be comprehended under the communion of one shape forme and fassion) verely she commaundeth the to use diligent circumspection, that thou do not so seke for thine owne commodities, that thou procure others incommodities. Wherefore theire opinion is, that not only covenauntes and bargaynes made amonge private men ought to be well and faythefullye fulfilled, observed, and kepte, but also commen lawes, whiche either a good prince hath justly publyshed, or els the people neither oppressed with tyrannye, neither deceaved by fraude and gyell,[1] hath by theire common consent constituted and ratifyed, concerninge the particion of the commodities of lyfe, that is to say, the matter of pleasure. These lawes not offended,[2] it is wysdome, that thou looke to thine own wealthe. And to doe the same for the common wealth is no lesse then thy duetie, if thou bearest any reverent love, or any naturall zeale and affection to thy native countreye. But to go about to let[3] an other man of his pleasure, whiles thou procurest thine owne, that is open wrong. Contrary wyse to withdrawe somethinge from the selfe to geve to other, that is a pointe of humanitie and gentilnes: whiche never taketh awaye so muche commoditie, as it bringethe agayne. For it is recompensed with the retourne of benefytes, and the conscience of the good dede, with the remembraunce of the thankefull love and benevolence of them to whom thou hast done it, doth bringe more pleasure to thy mynde, then that whiche thou hast withholden from thy selfe could have brought to thy bodye. Finallye (which to a godly disposed and a religious mind is easy to be persuaded) God recompenseth the gifte of a short and smal pleasure with great and everlastinge joye. Therfore the matter diligently weyede[4] and

Bargaynes and Lawes

The mutual recourse of kindnes

[1] Guile.

[2] An absolute construction = "While these laws are kept unbroken."

[3] Hinder.

[4] Weighed.

considered, thus they thinke, that all our actions, and in them the vertues themselfes be referred at the last to pleasure, as their ende and felicitie. Pleasure they call every motion and state of the bodie or mynde wherin man hath naturally delectation. Appetite they joyne to nature,[1] and that not without a good cause. For like as, not only the senses, but also right reason coveteth whatsoever is naturally pleasaunt, so that it may be gotten without wrong or injurie, not letting or debarring a greater pleasure, nor causing painful labour, even so those thinges that men by vaine ymagination do fayne against nature to be pleasaunt (as though it laye in their power to chaunge the thinges, as they do the names of thinges) al suche pleasures they beleve to be of so small helpe and furtheraunce to felicitie, that they counte them a great let and hinderaunce. Because that in whom they have ones taken place,[2] all his mynde they possesse with a false opinion of pleasure. So that there is no place left for true and naturall delectations. For there be many thinges, which of their owne nature conteyne no plesauntnes: yea the moste parte of them muche griefe and sorrowe. And yet throughe the perverse and malicyous flickeringe inticementes of lewde and unhoneste desyres, be taken not only for speciall and sovereigne pleasures, but also be counted amonge the chiefe causes of life. In this counterfeat kind of pleasure they put them that I spake of before. Whiche the better gownes they have on, the better men they thinke themselfes. In the which thing they doo twyse erre. For they be no lesse deceaved in that they thinke theire gowne the better, than they be, in that they thinke themselfes the better. For if

The definition of Pleasure

False and counterfeate pleasures

The errour of them that esteme themselfes the more for apparreiles sake

[1] *I.e.* "they consider healthy bodily desires to be natural."
[2] Settled themselves.

you consider the profitable use of the garmente, whye should wulle of a fyner sponne threde, be thougt better, than the wul of a course sponne threde? Yet they, as though the one did passe the other by nature, and not by their mistakyng, avaunce themselfes, and thinke the price of their owne persones thereby greatly encreased. And therefore the honour, which in a course gowne they durste not have loked for, they require, as it were of dewtie, for theyr fyner gownes sake. And if they be passed by without reverence, they take it displeasauntly and disdainfullye. And agayne is it not lyke madnes to take a pryde in vayne and unprofitable honours? For what naturall or trewe pleasure doest thou take of an other mans bare hede, or bowed knees? Will this ease the paine of thy knees, or remedie the phrensie of thy hede? In this ymage of counterfeite pleasure, they be of a marvelous madnesse, whiche for the opinion of nobilitie, rejoyse muche in their owne conceyte. Because it was their fortune to come of suche auncetoures,[1] whose stocke of longe tyme hathe bene counted ryche (for nowe nobilitie is nothing elles) speciallye riche in landes. And though their auncetours left them not one foote of lande, or els they themselves have pyssed it agaynste the walles,[2] yet they thinke themselves not the lesse noble therfore of one heare.[3] In this number also they counte them that take pleasure and delite (as I said) in gemmes and precious stones, and thynke themselves almooste goddes, if they chaunce to gette an excellente one, speciallye of that kynde, whiche in that tyme of their own countre men is had in hyghest estimation. For one kynde of stone kepeth not his pryce styll[4] in all countreis,

Folish honore

Vaine nobilitie

Pleasure in precious stones most folish

[1] Ancestors.
[2] Thrown it away.
[3] Not a hair's breadth less noble.
[4] Fixed or constant.

and at all times. Nor they bye them not, but taken out of the golde and bare: no nor so neither, untyll they have made the seller to sweare, that he will warraunte and assure it to be a true stone, and no counterfeit gemme. Suche care they take lest a counterfeite stone should deceave their eyes in steade of a ryghte stone. But why shouldest thou not take even as muche pleasure in beholdynge a counterfeite stone, whiche thine eye cannot discerne from a righte stone? They shoulde bothe be of lyke value to thee, even as to the blynde man. What shall I saye of them, that kepe superfluous riches, to take delectation only in the beholdinge, and not in the use or occupiynge thereof? Do they take trew pleasure, or elles be thei deceaved with false pleasure? Or of them that be in a contrarie vice,[1] hidinge the gold whiche they shall never occupye, nor peradventure never se more? And whiles they take care leaste they shall leese[2] it, do leese it in dede. For what is it elles, when they hyde it in the ground, takyng it bothe frome their owne use, and perchaunce frome all other mennes also? And yet thou, when thou haste hydde thy treasure, as one out of all care, hoppest[3] for joye. The whiche treasure, yf it shoulde chaunce to bee stolen, and thou ignoraunt of the thefte shouldest dye tenne years after: all that tenne yeares space that thou lyvedest after thy money was stoolen, what matter was it to thee, whether it hadde bene taken awaye or elles safe as thou lefteste it? Trewlye both wayes like profytte came to thee. To these so foolyshe pleasures they joyne dicers, whose madnesse

The opinion and fansie of people doth augment and diminishe the price and estimation of precious stones

Beholders of treasure, not occupiyng the same

Hyders of treasure

A prettie fiction and a wittie

Dice playe

[1] Of those who go to the other extreme, or who make a different mistake.

[2] Lose.

[3] Dances or jumps (not "hopes" as one commentator explains it).

they knowe by hearsay, and not by use. Hunters also, and hawkers. For what pleasure is there (saye they) in castinge the dice upon a table. Which thou hast done so often, that if there wer any pleasure in it, yet the oft use might make thee werie thereof? Or what delite can there be, and not rather dyspleasure in hearynge the barkynge and howlynge of dogges? Or what greater pleasure is there to be felte, when a dogge followeth an hare, then when a dogge followeth a dogge? for one thinge is done in bothe, that is to saye, runnynge, yf thou hast pleasure therin. But yf the hope of slaughter and the expectation of tearynge in peces the beaste doth please thee: thou shouldest rather be moved with pitie to see a selye innocente hare murdered of[1] a dogge: the weake of the stronger, the fearefull of the fearce, the innocente of the cruell and unmercyfull. Therefore all thys exercyse of huntynge, as a thynge unworthye to be used of free men, the Utopians have rejected to their bouchers,[2] to the whiche crafte (as we sayde before) they appointe their bondemen. For they counte huntynge the lowest, the vyleste, and mooste abjecte part of boucherie, and the other partes of it more profitable, and more honeste, as bryngynge muche more commoditie,[3] in that they kyll beastes onely for necessitie. Whereas the hunter seketh nothinge but pleasure of the seelye and wofull beastes slaughter and murder.[4] The whiche pleasure in beholdinge deathe, they thinke doeth rise in the very beastes, either of a cruel affection of mind, or els to be chaunged in continuaunce of time into crueltie, by longe use of so cruell a pleasure. These therefore

Huntinge and hawkinge

Hunting the basest parte of bouchers among the Utopians, and yet this is nowe the exercise of most noble men

[1] Of = by; as in the rest of the sentence, and often in the book.
[2] Butchers.
[3] Convenience.
[4] The slaughter and murder of the innocent and wretched little animals.

and all suche like, whiche be innumerable, though the common sorte of people doth take them for pleasures, yet they, seing there is no natural pleasauntnes in them, do playnly determine them to have no affinitie with trew and right pleasure. For as touchinge that they do commonlye move the sense with delectation (whiche semeth to be a woorke of pleasure) this doeth nothynge diminishe their opinion. For not the nature of the thing, but their perverse and lewde custome is the cause hereof. Whiche causeth them to accept bitter or sowre thynges for swete thynges. Even as women with child in their viciate[1] and corrupte taste, thynke pytche and tallowe sweter then any honey. Howbeit no mannes judgemente depraved and corrupte, either by syckenes, or by custome, can chaunge the nature of pleasure, more then it can do the nature of other thinges. They make divers kindes of pleasures. For some they attribute to the soule, and some to the body. To the soule they geve intelligence, and that delectation, that commethe of the contemplation of trewth. Hereunto is joyned the pleasaunte remembraunce of the good lyfe paste.[2] The pleasure of the bodye they devide into ii. partes. The first is when delectation is sensibly felt and perceaved. Whiche many times chaunceth by the renewing and refreshing of those partes, which oure naturall heate drieth up. This commeth by meate and drynke. And sometymes whyles those thynges be expulsed, and voyded,[3] wherof is in the body over great abundaunce. This pleasure is felt, when we do our natural easement, or when we be doying the acte of generation, or when the ytchinge of any part is eased with rubbyng

The kindes of trew pleasures

The pleasures of the bodye

[1] Vitiated.

[2] Robinson omits the rest of the sentence, which may be rendered "and the certain expectation of future felicity."

[3] Driven out and evacuated.

or scratchynge. Sometimes pleasure riseth exhibitinge to any membre nothynge that it desireth, nor takynge from it any paine that it feeleth, which nevertheless tikleth and moveth oure senses wyth a certeine secrete efficacie, but with a manifeste motion turnethe them to it. As is that whiche commeth of musicke. The seconde parte of bodely pleasure, they say, is that which consisteth and resteth in the quiete, and upryghte[1] state of the bodye. And that trewlye is everye mannes owne propre health entermingled and disturbed with no griefe.[2] For this, yf it be not letted nor assaulted with no greif, is delectable of it selfe, thoughe it be moved with no externall or outwarde pleasure. For though it be not so plain and manyfeste to the sense, as the gredye luste of eatynge and drynkynge, yet neverthelesse manye take it for the chiefeste pleasure. All the Utopians graunt it to be a right sovereigne pleasure, and as you woulde say the foundation and grounde of all pleasures, as whiche even alone is hable to make the state and condition of life delectable and pleasaunt. And it beyng once taken awaye, there is no place lefte for any pleasure. For to be without greife not havinge health,[3] that they call unsensibilitie, and not pleasure. The Utopians have long ago rejected and condempned the opinion of them, whiche sayde that stedfaste and quiete healthe (for this question also hathe bene diligently debated amonge them) oughte not therfore to be counted a pleasure, bycause they saye it can not be presentlye and sensiblye perceaved and felte by some outwarde motion. But of the contrarie parte nowe they agree almooste all in this, that healthe is a moost soveraigne pleasure. For seynge that in sycknesse (saye they) is greiffe, whiche is a mortal enemie to pleasure,

Bodily health

[1] Well attuned, well balanced.

[2] And that condition, while it is not disturbed by any evil, is a man's real health.

[3] Mere freedom from pain, without real health.

even as sicknes is to health, why should not then pleasure be in the quietnes of health? For they say it maketh nothing to this matter, whether you saye that sycknesse is a griefe, or that in sickenes is griefe, for all commethe to one purpose. For whether health be a pleasure it selfe, or a necessary cause of pleasure, as fier is of heate, truelye bothe wayes it foloweth, that they cannot be withoute pleasure, that be in perfect helth. Furthermore whiles we eat (say they) then healthe, whiche beganne to be appayred,[1] fighteth by the helpe of foode againste hunger. In the which fight, whiles health by litle and litle getteth the upper hande, that same procedyng, and (as ye would say) that onwardnes to the wonte[2] strength ministreth that pleasure, wherby we be so refreshed. Health therfore, whiche in the conflict is joyefull, shall it not be mery, when it hath gootten the victorie? But as soone as it hathe recovered the pristinate[3] strength, which thing onely in all the fight it coveted, shal it incontinent[4] be astonied? Nor shal it not know nor imbrace the owne[5] wealthe and goodnes? For where it is said, healthe can not be felt: this, they thinke, is nothing trew. For what man wakyng, saye they, feleth not himselfe in health: but he that is not?[6] Is there anye man so possessed with stonishe[7] insensibilitie, or with lethargie, that is to say, the sleping sicknes,[8] that he will not graunt healthe to be acceptable to him, and delectable? But what other thinge is delectation, than that whiche by an other name is called pleasure? They imbrace[9]

Delectation

[1] Impaired, damaged.
[2] Wonted, usual.
[3] Pristine, first.
[4] At once, immediately.
[5] Its own.
[6] *I.e.* it is the man out of health that feels unwell on waking.
[7] Stony.
[8] Not, of course, the fatal and mysterious "sleeping sickness" of Equatorial Africa.
[9] They follow, therefore. Latin text has "ergo," which Robinson omits.

chieflie the pleasures of the mind. For them they counte the chiefist and most principall of all. The chiefe parte of them they thinke doth come of the exercise of vertue, and conscience of good life. Of these pleasures that the body ministreth, they geve the preeminence to helth. For the delite of eating and drinking, and whatsoever hath any like pleasauntnes, they determyne to be pleasures muche to be desired, but no other wayes than for healthes sake. For suche thinges of their own proper nature be not so pleasaunt, but in that they resiste sickenesse privelie stealing on. Therfore like as it is a wise mans part, rather to avoid sicknes, then to wishe for medicines, and rather to drive away and put to flight carefull griefes,[1] then to call for comfort: so it is muche better not to neade this kinde of pleasure, then thereby to be eased of the contrarie griefe. The whiche kinde of pleasure, yf anye man take for his felicitie, that man must nedes graunt, that then he shalbe in most felicitie, if he live that life, which is led in continuall hunger, thurste, itchinge, eatinge, drynkynge, scratchynge, and rubbing. The which life how not only foule, and unhonest,[2] but also howe miserable, and wretched it is, who perceveth not? These doubtles be the basest pleasures of al, as unpure and unperfect. For they never come, but accompanied with their contrarie griefes. As with the pleasure of eating is joyned hunger, and that after no very egal[3] sort. For of these ii. the griefe is both the more vehement, and also of longer continuaunce. For it beginneth before the pleasure, and endeth not until the pleasure die with it. Wherefore suche pleasures they thinke not greatlye to be set by, but in that thei be necessari. Howbeit they have delite also in these, and thankfulli knowledge[4] the tender love of mother nature, which with most

The pleasures of the mynde

[1] Pains which bring care and anxiety.
[2] Without honour.
[3] Equal.
[4] Acknowledge.

pleasaunt delectation allureth her children to that, to the necessarie use wherof they must from time to time continually be forced and driven. For how wretched and miserable should our life be, if these dailie greffes of hunger and thurst coulde not be driven awaye, but with bitter potions and sower medicines, as the other diseases be, wherwith we be seldomer troubled? But beutie, strengthe, nemblenes, these as peculiar and pleasaunt giftes of nature they make much of. But those pleasures that be receaved by the eares, the eyes, and the nose, whiche nature willeth to be proper and peculiar to man (for no other livinge creature doth behold the fairenes and the bewtie of the worlde, or is moved with any respecte of savours, but onely for the diversitie of meates, neither perceaveth the concordaunte and discordant distaunces of soundes, and tunes) these pleasures, I say, they accept and alowe[1] as certen pleasaunte rejoysinges of life. But in all thinges this cautel[2] they use, that a lesse pleasure hinder not a bigger, and that the pleasure be no cause of displeasure, whiche they thinke to folow of necessitie, if the pleasure be unhoneste. But yet to dispise the comlines of bewtie, to wast the bodelie strength, to turne nimblenes into sloughishnesse,[3] to consume and make feble the bodie with fastinge, to do injurie to healthe, and to rejecte the pleasaunte motions of nature; onles a man neglecte these commodities, whiles he dothe with a fervent zeale procure the wealthe of others, or the commen profite, for the whiche pleasure forborne, he is in hoope of a greater pleasure at Goddes hande, elles for a vaine shaddow of vertue, for the wealth and profite of no man, to punishe himselfe, or to the intente he maye be hable courragiouslie to suffer adversitie: whiche perchaunce shall never come to him, this to do they thinke it a point of extreame madnes, and a token of a man cruellye minded

The giftes of nature

[1] Praise. [2] Precaution. [3] Sloth, sluggishness.

towardes himselfe, and unkind towardes nature, as one so disdaining to be in her daunger,[1] that he renounceth and refuseth all her benefites.

This is their sentence and opinion of vertue and pleasure. And they beleve that by mans reason none can be found trewer then this, onles any godlyer be inspired into man from heven. Wherin whether they beleve well or no, neither the time doth suffer us to discusse neither it is nowe necessarie. For we have taken upon us to shewe and declare their lores[2] and ordinaunces, and not to defende them. But this thynge I beleve verely: howe soever these decrees be, that there is in no place of the world, neyther a more excellent people, neither a more flourishynge commen wealth. They be lyghte and quicke of bodie, full of activitie and nimblenes, and of more strength then a man woulde judge them by their stature, which for all that is not to lowe. And thoughe theyr soyle be not verie frutefull, nor their aier very wholsome, yet againste the ayer they so defende them with temperate diete, and so order and husbande[3] their grounde with diligente travaile,[4] that in no countrey is greater increase, and plentye of corne and cattell, nor mens bodies of longer lyfe, and subject or apte to fewer diseases. There therfore a man maye see well and diligentlie exploited and furnished,[5] not onelye those thinges which husbandemen do commenly in other countreis, as by craft and cunninge to remedie the barrennes of the grounde: but also a whole wood by the handes of the people plucked up by the rootes in one place, and set againe in an other place. Wherein was had regard and consideration, not of plenty, but of commodious[6] carriage, that wood and timber

Marke this well

The wealthe and description of the Utopians

[1] To be under liability to her. [2] Doctrines, opinions (not "laws").
[3] Till, farm, practise husbandry upon. [4] Labour.
[5] Both words mean performed, despatched, carried out.
[6] Convenient.

might be nigher to the sea, or the rivers, or the cities. For it is lesse laboure and businesse to carrie grayne farre by land, than wood. The people be gentle, merie, quicke, and fyne witted, delitinge in quietnes, and when nede requireth, hable to abide and suffer much bodelie laboure. Els they be not greatly desirous and fond of it; but in the exercise and studie of the mind they be never wery. When they had herd me speak of the greke literature or lerning (for in latin there was nothing that I thought they would greatly alow,[1] besides historiens and Poetes) they made wonderfull earneste and importunate sute unto me that I would teach and instructe them in that tonge and learninge. I beganne therfore to reade unto them, at the first truelie more bicause I would not seme to refuse the laboure, then that I hooped that they would any thing profite therein. But when I had gone forward a litle, I perceaved incontinente by their diligence, that my laboure should not be bestowed in vaine. For they began so easelie to fashion their letters, so plainlie to pronounce the woordes, so quickelie to learne by hearte, and so suerlie[2] to rehearse the same, that I marvailed at it, savinge that the most parte of them were fine, and chosen wittes and of ripe age, piked oute of the companie of the learned men, whiche not onelie of their owne free and voluntarie will, but also by the commaundemente of the counsell, undertoke to learne this langage. Therefore in lesse then thre yeres space there was nothing in the Greke tonge that they lacked. They were hable to rede good authors withoute anie staye,[3] if the booke were not false.[4] This kynde of learninge,

The utilitie of the greke tonge

A wonderfull aptness to learninge in the Utopians

But now most blockheded asses be sette to learninge, and most pregnaunt wittes corrupt with pleasures

[1] Praise.
[2] Surely, correctly.
[3] Hindrance, stumbling.
[4] Corrupt and obscure in text.

as I suppose, they toke so muche the sooner, bycause, it is sumwhat allyaunte[1] to them. For I thinke that this nation tooke their beginninge of[2] the Grekes, bycause their speche, which in al other poyntes is not much unlyke the Persian tonge, kepeth dyvers signes and tokens of the greke langage in the names of their cityes and of theire magistrates. They have of me (for when I was determyned to entre into my iiii. voyage, I caste into the shippe in the steade of marchandise a prety fardel[3] of bookes, bycause I intended to come againe rather never, than shortly)[4] they have, I saye, of me the moste parte of Platoes workes, more of Aristotles, also Theophrastus[5] of plantes, but in divers places (which I am sorye for) unperfecte. For whiles we were a shipborde, a marmoset[6] chaunced upon the booke, as it was negligentlye layde by, which wontonlye playinge therewyth plucked oute certeyne leaves, and toore them in pieces. Of them that have wrytten the grammer, they have onelye Lascaris.[7] For Theodorus[8] I caried not wyth me, nor never a dictionayre but Hesichius,[9] and Dioscorides.[10]

[1] Allied.

[2] From. Actually the Utopians did come from Greece, as More's book is so plainly inspired by Plato's "Republic."

[3] Burden: "Who would fardels bear, to grunt and sweat under a weary life?" asks Hamlet. The adjective "pretty" is still used in this sense of "moderate," "not small."

[4] *I.e.* it was to be his last voyage there.

[5] A Greek philosopher and naturalist (370–288 B.C.), author of works on natural history (chiefly botany) and of the better known "Characters"—a book represented in English by the "Microcosmography" of Earle, and in French by the "Characters" of La Bruayère.

[6] This is obviously a reminiscence of certain doings of More's own monkey—an animal immortalized by the pen of Erasmus and the pencil of Holbein.

[7] Constantine Lascaris wrote a Greek grammar that first appeared at Milan in 1476, and was reprinted frequently.

[8] Theodorus Gaza (1398–1478) wrote a Greek grammar (published in 1495) that was considered by scholars of the time to be the best of its kind.

[9] Hesychius, an obscure Alexandrine grammarian, to whom is attributed a Greek dictionary.

[10] Pedanius Dioscorides, a medical writer who lived in the time of Nero, and whose writings kept their value for many hundred years.

They sett greate stoore by Plutarches bookes. And they be delyted wyth Lucianes mery conceytes and jestes. Of the Poetes they have Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles in Aldus[1] small prynte. Of the historians they have Thucidides, Herodotus, and Herodian.[2] Also my companion, Tricius Apinatus,[3] caried with him phisick bokes, certein smal woorkes of Hippocrates,[4] and Galenes Microtechne.[5] The whyche boke they have in greate estimation. For thoughe there be almost no nation under heaven that hath lesse nede of Phisicke then they, yet this notwithstandyng, Phisicke[6] is no where in greater honour. Bycause they counte the knowledge of it among the goodlyeste and most profytable partes of Philosophie. For whyles they by the helpe of this Philosophie searche oute the secrete mysteryes of nature, they thinke themselfes to receave therby not onlye wonderfull greate pleasure, but also to obteine great thankes and favour of the autour and maker thereof. Whome they thinke, according to the fassion of other artificers, to have set furth the marvelous and gorgious

Phisicke hieghly regarded

[1] Aldus Manutius was the greatest of early printers, and from his press at Venice during the sixteenth century came a constant stream of correct and excellently printed classics.

[2] The well-known authors do not call for identification. Herodian was a Greek historian (popular in More's time) who flourished in the third century A.D., and wrote a history of the Roman Emperors of his own time.

[3] A name invented by More to signify a "trifler." Lupton, quoting from Perotti, says that Apina and Trica were towns in Apulia captured by Diomede, so small that their insignificance passed into a proverb for triviality.

[4] Hippocrates, father of the art of medicine, was born about 460 B.C., and wrote many treatises.

[5] Galen was the physician of Marcus Aurelius, and lived from 130–200 A.D. The "Microtechne" (Little Treatise) was the name by which his most popular text-book was known among medical students of the Middle Ages.

[6] More, speaking first of the purely medical side of science, goes on to magnify experimental and inductive science generally.

frame of the world for man with great affeccion intentively[1] to beholde. Whom only he hath made of witte and capacitie to considre and understand the excellencie of so great a woork. And therefore he beareth (say they) more goodwil and love to the curious[2] and diligent beholder and vewer of his woork and marvelour[3] at the same, then he doth to him, which like a very brute beaste without witte and reason, or as one without sense or moving, hathe no regarde to soo greate and soo wonderfull a spectacle. The wittes therefore of the Utopians inurede[4] and exercised in learnynge, be marveilous quycke in the invention of feates[5] helpinge annye thinge to the advantage and wealthe of lyffe. Howebeit ii. feates theye maye thanke us for. That is, the scyence of imprinting, and the crafte of makinge paper. And yet not onelye us but chiefelye and principallye themselfes. For when we shewede to them Aldus his print in bookes of paper, and told them of the stuffe wherof paper is made, and of the feate of graving letters, speaking sumwhat more, then we colde plainlye declare[6] (for there was none of us, that knewe perfectlye either the one or the other) they furthwith very wittely conjectured the thinge. And where as before they wrote onely in skinnes, in barkes of tryes, and in rides,[7] nowe they have attempted to make paper, and to imprint letters. And thoughe at the first yt proved not all of the beste, yet by often assayinge[8] the same they shortelye got the feate of bothe. And have so broughte the matter aboute, that yf they had copyes of Greeke authores, they coulde lacke no bookes. But nowe they have no moore then I rehearsed before, saving that by pryntynge of bookes they have multiplyed and increased

The contemplacion of nature

[1] Attentively. [2] Careful, exact. [3] Admirer.
[4] Inured, accustomed. [5] Arts.
[6] Telling them even more than we really knew.
[7] Reeds—that is, papyrus. [8] Trying, essaying.

the same into manye thousandes of copies. Whosoever cummethe thether to see the lande, beinge excellent in anye gifte of wytte, or througe muche and longe journienge wel experiensed and sene[1] in the knoweledg of many countreies (for the whyche cause wee were very welcome to them) him they receyve and interteyne wonders[2] gentilly and lovinglye. For they have delite to heare what is done in everye lande, howbeit verye fewe marchaunte men come thether. For what should they bring thether, onles it were Iron, or els gold and silver, whiche they hadde rather carrye home agayne? Also such thinges as are to be caryed oute of theire lande, they thinke it more wysedome to carry that gere[3] furthe themselfes, then that other shoulde come thether to fetche it, to thentente they maye the better knowe the out landes[4] on everye syde of them, and kepe in ure[5] the feate and knowledge of sailinge.

Of Bondemen, Sicke Persons, Wedlocke, and Divers Other Matters.

THEY neither make bondemen of prisoners taken in battayle, oneles it be in battaylle that they foughte them selfes, nor of bondmens children, nor to be short, of anye suche as they canne gette out of forreine countries, though he were theire a bondman. But either suche as amonge themselfes for heinous

A marvelous equitie of this nation

[1] Well seen = well skilled, well versed.

[2] Wonders = genitive of "wonder," used as an adverb. Compare for similar uses, *needs* must, *nowadays*, *of nights*, *sometimes*, etc.

[3] Business matter, affair.

[4] Foreign lands.

[5] Ure = practice, work, use. (*Cf.* Fr. "œuvre.")

offences be punyshed with bondage, or elles suche as in the Cities of other landes for great trespasses be condempned to deathe. And of this sort of bondemen they have mooste stoore.

For manye of them they bringe home sumtimes paying very lytle for them, yea mooste commonlye gettynge them for gramercye.[1] These sortes of bondemen they kepe not onely in continual woorke and labour, but also in bandes. But their oune men they handle hardest, whom they Judge more desperate, and to have deserved greater punisshemente, bycause they being so godlye[2] broughte up to vertue in soo excelente a common wealth, could not for all that be refreined from misdoing. An other kinde of bondemen they have, when a vile drudge being a poore laborer in an other country doth chuese of his owne free wyll to be a bondman among them. These they intreate and order honestly, and enterteine almoste as gentellye, as theire owne free cytyzeins, savynge that they put them to a lyttle more laboure, as thereto accustomed. Yf annye suche be disposed to departe thens (whiche seldome is seene) they neither holde him againste his wyll, neither sende him away with emptye handes. The sycke (as I sayde) they see to with great affection, and lette nothing at al passe[3] concerninge either Phisycke or good diete, whereby they may be restored againe to their health. Such as be sicke of incurable diseases they comforte with sittinge by them, with talkinge with them, and to be shorte, with all maner of helpes that may be. But yf the disease be not onelye uncurable, but also full of contynuall payne and anguishe: then the priestes and the magistrates exhort the man, seinge he is not hable to doo anye

Of them that be sicke

[1] Fr. grand merci = many thanks. They get them (as we say) for a thank you, or gratis.

[2] In so godly a way.

[3] Omit nothing at all.

dewtye of lyffe, and by overlyvinge his owne deathe[1] is noysome and irkesome to other, and grevous to himselfe: that he wyl determine with himselfe no longer to cheryshe that pestilent and peineful disease. And seinge his lyfe is to him but a tormente, that he wyl not bee unwillinge to dye, but rather take a good hope to him, and either dispatche himselfe out of that payneful lyffe, as out of a prison, or a racke of tormente, or elles suffer himselfe wyllinglye to be rydde oute of it by other. And in so doinge they tell him he shall doo wysely, seing by his deathe he shall lise[2] no commoditye, but ende his payne. And bycause in that acte he shall followe the counsel of the pryestes, that is to saye, of the interpreters of gooddes wyll and pleasure, they shewe him that he shall do lyke a godly and a vertuous man. They that be thus persuaded, finyshe theire lives willynglye, either with hunger, or elles dye in theire sleape[3] without anye fealing of deathe. But they cause none suche to dye agaynste his wyll, nor they use no lesse dilygence and attendaunce aboute him,[4] belevinge this to be an honorable deathe. Elles[5] he that killeth himself before that the pryestes and the counsel have allowed the cause of his deathe, him as unworthy either to be buryed, or with fier to be consumed,[6] they caste unburied into some stinkinge marrish.[7] The woman is not maried before she be xviii. yeres olde. The man is iiii. yeres elder before he marye. If either the man or

Voluntarye deathe

Of wedlocke

[1] The idea is that the hopeless and painful incurable is practically a dead man, and that by dragging on his existence, he is really outliving or surviving his death.

[2] Either a variant, or a misprint of "lose."

[3] Are relieved of their life during sleep.

[4] *I.e.* if he refuse to have his life terminated, they do not relax their efforts to mitigate his sufferings.

[5] On the contrary.

[6] Unworthy of honourable burial or cremation.

[7] Marsh, morass.

the woman be proved to have actually offended before theire marriage, with an other, the partye that so hathe trespaced is sharpelye punished. And bothe the offenders be forbidden ever after in al theire lyfe to marrye: oneles the faulte be forgeven by the princes pardone. But bothe the good man and the good wyfe[1] of the house, where that offense was committed, as beinge slacke and neglygent in lokinge to theire chardge, be in daunger of greate reproche and infamye. That offense is so sharpely punyshed, bicause they perceave, that onles they be diligentlye kepte from the libertye of this vice, fewe wyll joyne together in the love of marriage, wherein all the lyfe must be led with one, and also all the griefes and displeasures comming therewith paciently be taken and borne. Furthermore in chuesinge wyfes and husbandes they observe earnestly and straytelye a custome, which semed to us very fonde[2] and folyshe. For a sad[3] and an honest matrone sheweth the woman, be she mayde or widdowe, naked to the wower.[4] And lykewyse a sage and discrete man exhibyteth the wower naked to the woman. At this custome we laughed, and disalowed[5] it as foolishe. But they on the other part doo greatlye wonder at the follye of al other nations, whyche in byinge a colte, whereas[6] a lytle money is in hasarde, be so charye and circumspecte, that thoughe he be almoste all bare, yet they wyll not bye hym, oneles the saddel and all the harneies be taken of, leaste under those coverygnes be hydde som galle or soore. And yet in chuesinge a wyfe, whyche shalbe either pleasure or displeasure to them all theire lyfe after, they be so recheles,[7] that al the resydewe of the woomans bodye beinge covered

Thoughe not verie honestly, yet not unwiselye

[1] Master and mistress: obviously, "good" is not to be taken literally! The Latin has "pater et mater familias."
[2] Silly. [3] Serious. [4] Wooer.
[5] Disapproved. [6] In which, where. [7] Reckless.

with cloothes, they esteme[1] her scaselye be[2] one handebredeth (for they can se no more but her face), and so to joyne her to them not without greate jeoperdye of evel agreinge together, yf any thing in her body afterward should chaunce to offend and myslyke[3] them. For all men be not so wyse, as to have respecte to the vertuous conditions of the partie. And the endowmentes of the bodye cause the vertues of the minde more to be estemed and regarded: yea even in the mariages of wyse men. Verely so foule deformitie maye be hydde under those coveringes, that it maye quite alienate and take awaye the mans mynde from his wyfe, when it shal not be lawful for theire bodies to be separate agayne. If suche deformitie happen by any chaunce after the mariage is consummate and finyshed, wel, there is no remedie but patience. Every man muste take his fortune wel a worthe.[4] But it were wel done that a lawe were made wherebye all suche deceytes myghte be eschewed, and advoyded before hande.

And this were they constreyned more earnestlye to looke upon, because they onlye of the nations in that parte of the worlde bee contente everye man with one wyfe a piece. And matrymoneie is there never broken, but by death; excepte adulterye breake the bonde, or els the intollerable wayewarde maners of either partye. For if either of them finde themselfe for any such cause greved, they maye by the license of the counsel chaunge and take another. But the other partie lyveth ever after in infamye and out of wedlocke. Howebeit the husbande to put away his wife for no other faulte, but for that some myshappe is fallen to her bodye, this by no meanes they wyll suffre. For they judge it a great poynt of crueltie, that anye body in their moste nede

Divorcement

[1] Judge. [2] By. [3] Disgust.
[4] "Well a worth" is an exclamation—amounting to "woe be it!"—(O.E.—wā lā wā! exclamation of woe; weorðan = to be, become).

of helpe and comforte, should be caste of and forsaken, and that olde age, whych both bringeth sicknes with it, and is a syckenes it selfe, should unkindly and unfaythfullye be delte withall.[1] But nowe and then it chaunseth, where as the man and the woman cannot well agree betwene themselfes, both of them fyndinge other, with whome they hope to lyve more quietlye and merylye, that they by the full consente of them bothe be divorsed asonder and maried againe to other. But that not without the authoritie of the counsell. Whiche agreeth to no divorses, before they and their wyfes have diligently tried and examyned the matter. Yea and then also tney be lothe to consent to it, bycause they know this to be the next way to break love betwene man and wyfe, to be in easye hope of a new mariage.[2] Breakers of wedlocke be punyshed with mooste grevous bondage. And if both the offenders were maried, then the parties whiche in that behalfe have sufferede wrong, beinge divorsed from the avoutrers,[3] be maried together, if they wille, or els to whom they lust.[4] But if either of them both do styl contineue in love towarde so unkinde a bedfellowe, the use of wedlocke is not to them forbidden, if the partye faulteles be disposed to followe in toylinge and drudgerye the person which for that offence is condempned to bondage. And very ofte it chaunceth that the repentaunce of the one, and the earneste diligence of the other, dothe so move the prince with pytie and compassion, that he restoreth the bonde persone from servitude to libertie and fredom again. But if the same partie be taken eftsones[5] in

[1] With—often used when "with" ends a sentence. See, for instance, Rosalind's account to Orlando of Time's different paces (Act III., Sc. 2).

[2] They know that facility for re-marriage is the easiest way of weakening the affection of man and wife.

[3] Adulterers.

[4] Wish, desire.

[5] Soon afterwards, again.

that faulte, there is no other waye but death. To other trespaces no prescript punishmente is appoynted by anye lawe. But accordinge to the heynousenes of the offense, or contrarye, so the punishemente is moderated by the discretion of the counsell. The husbandes chastice theire wyfes, and the parentes theire children, oneles they have done anye so horryble an offense, that the open punyshemente[1] thereof maketh muche for the advauncemente of honeste maners. But moste commenlye the moste heynous faultes be punyshed with the incommoditie of bondage. For that they suppose to be to the offenders no lesse griefe, and to the common wealth more profit, then yf they should hastely put them to death, and so make them quite out of the waye. For there cummeth more profit of theire laboure, then of theire deathe, and by theire example they feare other[2] the longer from lyke offenses. But if they beinge thus used, doo rebell and kicke againe, then forsothe they be slayne as desperate and wilde beastes, whom neither prison nor chaine coulde restraine and kepe under. But they, whiche take theire bondage pacientlye, be not lefte all hopeles. For after they have bene broken and tamed with long miseries, if then thei shewe such repentaunce, as therebye it maye bee perceaved that they be soryer for theire offense then for their punyshemente: sumtymes by the Prynces prerogatyve, and sumtymes by the voyce and consent of the people, theire bondage either is mitigated, or els cleane released and forgeven. He that moveth to advoutreye[3] is in no lesse daunger and jeoperdie then yf he hadde

The decerning of punishment putte to the discretion of the magistrates

[1] Public punishment.

[2] "Fear" is used transitively and is equivalent to "frighten" or "deter"; thus the sense is that the example of their punishment will deter others from similar offences.

[3] He that designs or attempts adultery.

committed advoutrye in dede. For in all offenses they counte the intente and pretensed purpose[1] as evel as the acte or dede it selfe, thinking that no lette[2] oughte to excuse him that did his beste to have no lette. They hav singular delite and pleasure in foles. And as it is a greate reproche to do annye of them hurte or injury, so they prohibite not to take pleasure of foolyshnes. For that, they thinke, dothe muche good to the fooles. And if any man be so sadde and sterne, that he cannot laughe neither at their wordes, nor at their dedes, none of them be committed to his tuition;[3] for feare least he would not intreate them gentilly and favorably enough: to whom they should brynge no delectation (for other goodnes in them is none) muche lesse anye proffite shoulde they yelde him. To mocke a man for his deformitie, or for that he lacketh anye parte or lymme of his bodye, is counted greate dishonestye[4] and reproche, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh. Which[5] unwysely doth imbrayde[6] anye man of that as a vice, that was not in his powre to eschewe. Also as they counte and reken verye litell witte to be in him, that regardeth not naturall bewtie and comlinesse, so to helpe the same with payntinges, is taken for a vaine and a wanton pride, not withoute greate infamie.[7] For they knowe, even by very experience, that no comlinesse of bewtye doethe so hyghelye commende and avaunce the wives in the conceite of their husbandes, as honest conditions[8] and

Motion to advoutrye punished

Pleasure of fooles

Counterfeite bewtie

[1] The designed or intended purpose is as evil as the deed itself—in the sense of Matthew v. 27–29.

[2] Hindrance.

[3] Care or charge.

[4] In the sense of "dishonour."

[5] "Which" = "who"; its antecedent is "him that mocketh."

[6] Upbraid, reproach.

[7] That is, the woman who cultivates an artificial complexion, belongs to the order of beauty-blind persons.

[8] Conditions = character, as often in Tudor English.

lowlines. For as love is oftentimes wonne with bewty, so it is not kept, preserved, and continued, but by vertue and obedience. They do not onely feare[1] their people from doyng evil by punishmentes, but also allure them to vertue with rewardes of honoure. Therfore they set up in the markette place the ymages of notable men, and of such as have bene great and bounteful benefactors to the commen wealth, for the perpetual memorie of their good actes: and also that the glory and renowme of the auncetors maye styrre and provoke theire posteritie to vertue. He that inordinatly and ambitiously desireth promotions, is left al hopeles for ever atteining any promotion as long as he liveth. They lyve together lovinglye. For no magistrate[2] is eyther hawte or fearfull.[3] Fathers they be called, and lyke fathers they use themselves. The citezens (as it is their dewtie) willynglye exhibite unto them dew honour without any compulsion. Nor the prince himselfe is not knowen from the other by princely apparell, or a robe of state, nor by a crown or diademe roial, or cap of maintenaunce,[4] but by a litle sheffe of corne caried before him. And so a taper of wax is borne before the bishop, wherby onelye he is knowen. They have but few lawes. For to people so instructe and institute[5] very fewe do suffice.[6] Yea this thing they chiefely reprove among other nations, that innumerable bokes of lawes and expositions upon the same be not sufficient. But

Sinne punished and vertue rewarded

The inordinate desire of honours condemned

Magistrates honoured

Fewe lawes

[1] Transitively in the sense of "deter."

[2] Not, of course, as with us, inferior judges; but rather "governors"—just as the President of the French Republic is the Chief Magistrate.

[3] Haughty or fear-inspiring.

[4] A velvet cap, part of the insignia of English sovereigns, carried by some great official before a monarch at his coronation.

[5] Instructed and organised.

[6] It is obvious that the number of laws in any state is proportional to the number of evils.

they think it against all right and justice that men shoulde be bound to those lawes, which either be in number mo then be hable to be read, or els blinder and darker,[1] then that anye man can well understande them. Furthermore they utterlie exclude and banishe all attorneis, proctours, and sergeauntes at the lawe: whiche craftelye handell matters, and subtelly dispute of the lawes. For they thinke it moste meete, that every man should pleade his own matter, and tel the same tale before the judge that he wold tell to his man of law. So shal there be lesse circumstaunce of wordes,[2] and the trueth shal soner come to light, whiles the judge with a discrete judgement doethe waye the woordes of him whom no lawyer hath instructe with deceit, and whiles he helpeth and beareth out simple wittes against the false and malicious circumventions of craftie children.[3] This is harde to be observed in other countreis, in so infinite a number of blinde and intricate lawes. But in Utopia every man is a cunning lawier.[4] For (as I said) they have very few lawes; and the plainer and grosser that anye interpretation is, that they allowe as most juste. For all lawes (saie they) be made and publyshed onely to the intente that by them every man shoulde be put in remembraunce of his dewtie. But the craftye and subtill interpretation of them (forasmuche as few can atteyne thereto) canne put verye fewe in that remembraunce, where as the simple, the plaine, and grosse[5] meaninge of the lawes is open to everye man. Elles as touchinge the vulgare sort of the people, whiche be bothe mooste in

The multitude of lawyers superfluous

The intent of lawes

[1] Blinder and darker = more obscure.
[2] Ambiguities, elaborations.
[3] Persons—as in the "children of Israel," and similar Biblical phrases.
[4] Equivalent to "learned in the law."
[5] Blunt and obvious, as distinguished from tortuous and subtle.

number, and have moste nede to knowe their dewties, were it not as good for them, that no law were made at all, as when it is made, to bringe so blynde an interpretation upon it, that without greate witte and longe arguynge no man can discusse it? To the fyndynge oute whereof neyther the grosse judgement of the people can attaine, neither the whole life of them that be occupied in woorkinge for their livynges canne suffice thereto. These vertues of the Utopians have caused theire nexte neiboures and borderers whiche live fre and under no subjection (for the Utopians longe ago, have delivered manye of them from tirannie) to take magistrates of them, some for a yeare, and some for five yeares space. Which when the tyme of their office is expired, they bringe home againe with honoure and praise, and take new againe with them into their countrey. These nations have undoubtedlye very well and holsomely provided for their common wealthes. For seynge that bothe the makinge and marringe of the weale publique doeth depende and hange upon the maners of the rulers and magistrates, what officers coulde they more wyselye have chosen, then those which can not be ledde from honestye by bribes (for to them that shortly after shal depart thens into their own countrey money should be unprofitable) nor yet be moved eyther with favoure, or malice towardes any man, as beyng straungers, and unacquainted with the people? The whiche two vices of affection[1] and avarice, where they take place in judgementes, incontinente they breake justice, the strongest and suerest bonde of a common wealth. These peoples whiche fetche their officers and rulers from them, the Utopians cal their fellowes. And other to whome they have bene beneficiall, they call their frendes. As touching leagues, which in other places betwene countrey and countrey be so ofte concluded, broken and renewed,

Of leagues

[1] Prejudice.

they never make none with anie nation. For to what purpose serve leagues? say they. As thoughe nature had not set sufficient love betwene man and man. And who so regardeth not nature, thinke you that he will passe for wordes?[1] They be brought into this opinion chiefelye, because that in those partes of the worlde, leagues betwene princes be wont to be kepte and observed very sklenderly.[2] For here in Europa, and especiallye in these partes where the faith and religion of Christe reigneth, the majestie of leagues is everye where estemed holy and inviolable: partlie through the justice and goodnes of princes, and partly at the reverence and motion of the head Bishops.[3] Which like as they make no promisse themselves, but they do verye religiouslye perfourme the same, so they exhorte all princes in any wise to abide by their promisses, and them that refuse or denye so to do, by their pontificall powre and authoritie they compell thereto. And surely they thinke well that it might seme a verye reprochefull thing, yf in the leagues of them which by a peculiare name be called faithful, faith should have no place. But in that newe founde parte of the world, which is scaselie so farre frome us beyond the line equinoctiall, as our life and maners be dissident from theirs,[4] no trust nor confidence is in leagues. But the mo[5] and holier

[1] Bother about words. The sense is, if nations forget their common humanity and become enemies, will the words of a treaty make them love one another?

[2] Slenderly.

[3] This is sarcasm. Chief of the "head Bishops" was Julius II. who broke his league of Cambray with the French, and entered into the Holy League against them, just as Ferdinand having been leagued with Naples against France, immediately leagued himself with France against Naples. The end of the fifteenth and the opening of the sixteenth centuries witnessed many "holy and inviolable leagues" shamelessly broken (see Introduction).

[4] Which is scarcely so far from us beyond the equator as our way of life is far from theirs, the latter remoteness being greater than the former.

[5] More.

ceremonies the league is knitte up with, the soner it is broken by some cavillation[1] founde in the wordes, which many times of purpose be so craftelie put in and placed, that the bandes can never be so sure nor so stronge, but they will find some hole open to crepe out at, and to breake both league and trueth. The whiche craftye dealing, yea the whiche fraude and deceite, if they should know it to be practised among private men in their bargaines and contractes, they would incontinent crie out at it with an open mouth and a sower countenaunce, as an offense moste detestable, and worthye to be punnyshed with a shamefull deathe: yea even very they that avaunce themselves[2] authours of lyke counsell geven to princes. Wherfore it may wel be thought, either that al justice is but a basse and a low vertue, and which avaleth it self[3] farre under the highe dignitie of kynges: Or at the least wise, that there be two justices, the one meete for the inferiour sorte of the people, goynge afote and crepynge lowe by the grounde, and bounde down on every side with many bandes bycause it shall not run at rovers.[4] The other a princelye vertue, which like as it is of much hygher majestie, then the other pore justice, so also it is of muche more libertie, as to the which nothing is unlawfull that it lusteth after. These maners of princes (as I said) whiche be there so evell kepers of leagues, cause the Utopians, as I suppose, to make no leagues at al, which perchaunce would chaunge their minde if they lived here. Howbeit they thinke that thoughe leagues be never so faithfullye observed and kepte, yet the custome of

[1] Cavillation = something to cavil at, quibbles.

[2] Even those very persons who put themselves forward (or boast themselves) as authors, etc.

[3] Availeth itself = descends, lowers itself—a not uncommon word in Tudor English (its origin is Fr. *avaler* from Lat. ad vallem = down to the valley—the root appears also in the word "avalanche").

[4] "To run at rovers," is to go wildly, or at random. It is an archery term.

makynge leagues was very evell begon. For this causeth men (as though nations which be seperat asondre, by the space of a litle hil or a river, were coupled together by no societie or bonde of nature) to thinke themselves borne adversaries and enemies one to another, and that it were lawfull for the one to seke the death and destruction of the other, if leagues were not: yea, and that after the leagues be accorded, frendship doth not grow and encrese: but the licence of robbing and stealing doth styll remaine, as farfurth as for lack of forsight and advisement in writing the wordes of the league, any sentence or clause to the contrarie is not therin sufficientlie comprehended. But they be of a contrarye opinion. That is, that no man oughte to be counted an enemye, whiche hath done no injurye. And that the felowshippe of nature is a stronge league: and that men be better and more surely knit togethers by love and benevolence, then by covenauntes of leagues; by hartie affection of minde, then by wordes.

Of Warfare.

WARRE or battel as a thing very beastly, and yet to no kinde of beastes in so muche use as to man, they do detest and abhorre. And contrarie to the custome almooste of all other nations, they counte nothynge so much against glorie,[1] as glory gotten in warre. And therefore thoughe they do daylie practise and exercise themselves in the discipline of warre, and not onelie the men, but also the women upon certen appointed daies, lest they

[1] Nothing is so inglorious as glory gained in war.

should be to seke in the feate of armes,[1] if nede should require, yet they never go to battell, but either in the defence of their owne countrey, or to drive out of their frendes lande the enemies that have invaded it, or by their power to deliver from the yocke and bondage of tirannye some people, that be therewith oppressed. Which thing they do of meere pitie and compassion. Howbeit they sende helpe to their frendes; not ever[2] in their defence. But sometymes also to requite and revenge injuries before to them done. But this they do not onlesse their counsell and advise in the matter be asked, whiles it is yet newe and freshe. For if they finde the cause probable, and if the contrarie part[3] wil not restoore agayne suche thynges as be of them justelye demaunded, then they be the chiefe autours and makers of the warre. Whiche they do not onlie as ofte as by inrodes and invasions of soldiours praies[4] and booties be driven awaye, but then also muche more mortally, when their frendes marchauntes in anie lande, either under the pretence of unjuste lawes, or elles by the wrestinge and wronge understandinge of good lawes, do susteine an unjust accusation under the colour of justice.[5] Neither the battell whiche the Utopians fought for the Nephelogetes against the Alaopolitanes[6] a litle before oure time was made for any other cause, but that the Nephelogete marchaunt men, as the Utopians thought, suffred wrong of the Alaopolitanes, under the pretence

[1] Lest they should be to seek in the feat of arms = lest they should be wanting in military skill.

[2] "Not ever" does not mean "never" but "not always." The other reasons follow in the next sentence.

[3] The other side. [4] Plural of "prey."

[5] The sense of the whole sentence is this: A war is justifiable when the enemy invade a friendly land and carry away booty; but it is even more justifiable when friendly traders are oppressed under the pretext of law and justice.

[6] Two more words made up from Greek. The Nephelogetes (νεφέλη, cloud) are the dwellers in Cloudland; the Alaopolitans ἀλαός, blind), the inhabitants of Blindtown.

of righte. But whether it were righte or wronge, it was with so cruel and mortal warre revenged, the countreis rounde about joyninge their helpe and powre to the puisaunce and malice of bothe parties, that moste florishing and wealthy peoples, being some of them shrewedly[1] shaken, and some of them sharpely beaten, the mischeves wer not finished nor ended, until the Alaopolitanes, at the last were yelded up as bondemen into the jurisdiction of the Nephelogetes. For the Utopians fought not this war for themselves. And yet the Nephelogetes before the warre, when the Alaopolitanes flourished in wealth, wer nothing to be compared with them. So egerlye the Utopians prosequute the injuries done to their frendes: yea, in money matters, and not their owne likewise. For if they by coveyne or gile[2] be wiped beside their goodes,[3] so that no violence be done to their bodies, they wreake their anger by absteininge from occupieng with[4] that nation, until they have made satisfaction. Not forbicause they set lesse stoore by their owne citizeins, then by their frendes: but that they take the losse of their frendes money more hevelie then the losse of their own. Bicause that their frendes marchaunte men, forasmuche as that they leise[5] is their own private goods, susteine great dammage by the losse. But their owne citizeyns leise nothing but of the commen goods, and of that whiche was at home plentifull and almost superfluous, els had it not bene sent furth. Therfore no man feleth the losse. And for this cause they thinke it to cruell an acte, to revenge that losse with the deathe of manie, the incommoditie of the which losse no man feeleth neither in his lyfe, nor yet in his

[1] Sharply, severely.
[2] Fraud or guile.
[3] To be "wiped" (referring to the nose), is a vulgar idiom in both Greek and Latin for "to be cheated"; "beside" = "out of."
[4] Trading with.
[5] That they leise = what they lose.

living. But if it chaunce that any of their men in any other countrey be maimed or killed, whether it be done by a commen or a private counsel, knowyng and trying out the trueth of the matter by their ambassadours, onlesse the offenders be rendered unto them in recompense of the injurie, they will not be appeased; but incontinent they proclaime warre against them. The offenders yelded, they punishe either with death, or with bondage. They be not only sory, but also ashamed to atchieve the victorie with bloudshed, counting it greate folie to bie precious wares to dere. They rejoyse and avaunt themselves,[1] if they vanquishe and oppresse their enemies by craft and deceite. And for that act they make a generall triumph, and as yf the matter were manfullye handeled, they set up a pyller of stone in the place where they so vanquished their enemies, in token of the victorie. For then they glorie, then they boaste, and cracke[2] that they have plaied the men in deede, when they have so overcommen, as no other living creature but onely man could: that is to saye, by the mighte and puisaunce of wit. For with bodily strength (say they) beares, lions, boores, wulfes, dogges, and other wild beastes do fight. And as the moste part of them do passe us in strength and fierce courage, so in wit and reason we be much stronger then they all. Their chief and principall purpose in warre, is to obteine that thynge, whiche if they had before obteined, they woulde not have moved battell. But if that be not possible, they take so cruell vengeaunce of them whiche be in the faulte, that ever after they be aferde to do the like. This is their chiefe and principall intent, whiche they immediatlie and first of al prosequute, and set forwarde. But yet so, that they be more circumspecte in avoidinge and eschewynge jeopardies, then they be desierous of prayse and renowne. Therefore

Victorie deare bought

[1] Boast.

[2] Brag, wag their tongues.

immediatlye after that warre is ones solemnelie denounced,[1] they procure many proclamations signed with their owne commen seale to be set up privilie at one time in their enemies lande, in places moste frequented. In these proclamations they promise greate rewardes to hym that will kill their enemies prince, and some what lesse giftes, but them verye greate also, for everye heade of them, whose names be in the saide proclamations conteyned. They be those whom they count their chiefe adversaries, next unto the prince. Whatsoever is prescribed unto him that killeth any of the proclaimed persons, that is dubled to him that bringeth anye of the same to them alive ; yea, and to the proclaimed persones themselves, if they wil chaunge their mindes and come in to them, taking their partes,[2] they profer the same greate rewardes with pardone, and suertie of their lives. Therefore it quickely commeth to passe that their enemies have all other men in suspicion, and be unfaithfull, and mistrusting among themselves one to another, living in great feare, and in no lesse jeopardie. For it is well knowen, that divers times the most part of them (and speciallie the prince him selfe) hathe bene betraied of them, in whom they put their moste hope and trust. So that there is no maner of act nor dede that giftes and rewardes do not enforce men unto. And in rewardes they kepe no measure. But remembring and considering into how great hasarde and jeopardie they cal them, endevoure themselves to recompence the greatnes of the daunger with like great benefites. And therefore they promise not only wonderful greate abundaunce of golde, but also landes of greate revenues lieng in most saffe places among theire frendes. And theire promisses they perfourme faythfully withoute annye fraude or covyne. This custome of byinge and sellynge adversaryes among other people is dysallowed, as a cruel acte of

[1] Proclaimed, declared. [2] Taking their side.

a basse and a cowardyshe mynde. But they in this behalfe thinke themselves muche prayse woorthy, as who lyke wyse men by this meanes dispatche greate warres withoute anny battell or skyrmyshe. Yea they counte it also a dede of pytye and mercye, bicause that by the deathe of a fewe offenders the lyves of a greate numbre of innocentes, as wel of theire oune men as also of theire enemies, be raunsomed and saved, which in fighting shoulde have bene sleane. For they doo no lesse pytye the basse and common sorte of theire enemies people, then they doo theire owne; knowing that they be driven and enforced to warre againste their willes by the furyous madnes of theire princes and heades. Yf by none of these meanes the matter goo forwarde as they woulde have it, then they procure occasyons of debate, and dissention to be spredde amonge theire enemies. As by bringinge the princes brother, or some of the noble men in hoope to obtayne the kingedome. Yf this waye prevayle not, then they reyse up the people that be nexte neygheboures and borderers to theire enemyes, and them they sette in theire neckes[1] under the coloure of some olde tytle of ryghte, such as kynges doo never lacke. To them they promysse theire helpe and ayde in theire warre. And as for moneye they gyve them abundaunce. But of theire owne cytyzeins they sende to them fewe or none. Whome they make so much of, and love so intierlye, that they would not be willing to chaunge anye of them for their adversaries prince. But their gold and silver, bycause they kepe it all for thys only purpose, they laye it owte frankly and frely: as who shoulde lyve even as wealthely, if they hadde bestowed it everye pennye. Yea and besydes theire ryches, whyche they kepe at home, thei have also an infinite treasure abrode, by reason that (as I sayde before) manye nations be in their debte. Therefore they

[1] Set upon them—like dogs.

hiere soldiours oute of all coúntreis and sende them to battayle, but cheifly of the Zapoletes.[1] This people is 500. myles from Utopia eastewarde. They be hideous,[2] savage, and fyerce, dwellynge in wild woodes and high mountaines, where they were bredde and brought up. They be of an harde nature, hable to abide and susteine heate, colde, and labour, abhorrynge from[3] all delicate deintyes, occupyenge no[4] husbandrye nor tyllage of the ground, homelye and rude both in buildinge of their houses and in their apparrel, geven unto no goodnes, but onely to the breedinge and bringynge up of cattel. The mooste parte of theire lyvinge is by huntynge and stealynge. They be borne onelye to warre, whyche they diligentlye and earnestelye seke for. And when they have gotten it, they be wonders[5] glad thereof. They goo furthe of theire countreye in great companyes together, and whosoever lackethe souldyours, there they proffer theire service for small wages. This is onelye the crafte[6] they have to gette theire livynge by. They maynteyne theire lyfe by sekinge their deathe. For them whomewyth they be in wayges[7] they fyghte hardelye, fyerslye, and faythefullye. But they bynde themselfes for no certeyne tyme. But upon this condition they entre into bondes, that the nexte daye they wyll take parte with the other syde for greatter wayges, and the nexte day after that, they wyll be readye to come backe agayne for a lytle more moneye. There be fewe warres thereawaye, wherin is not a greate numbre of them in bothe partyes.

[1] Another Greek invention of More's—and not very obvious. Lupton is certainly right in connecting it with πωλέω, to sell, with the strengthening prefix ζα ;—the reference being to the Swiss, most famous of mercenary soldiers. The description that follows indicates that the Swiss are meant.

[2] No reference to personal appearance: the significance is rather "terrible," or "truculent."

[3] Disdaining.

[4] Occupying no = not practising.

[5] Wondrous.

[6] Only the crafte = the only art.

[7] Whomwith they be in wages = by whom they are hired.

Therefore it dayelye chauncethe that nye kynsefolke whyche were hiered together on one parte, and there verye frendelye and familiarlye used themselfes one wyth another, shortely after beinge separate in contrarye partes,[1] runne one againste another envyouslye and fyercelye: and forgettinge bothe kindred and frendeshype, thruste theire swordes one in another. And that for none other cause, but that they be hyered of contrarye prynces for a lytle moneye. Whyche they doo so hyghlye regarde and esteame, that they will easelye be provoked to chaunge partes for a halfepenye more wayges by the daye. So quyckelye they have taken a smacke in[2] covetesenes. Whyche for all that is to them no proffyte. For that they gette by fyghtynge, immedyatelye they spende unthryftelye and wretchedlye in ryotte. This people fighteth for the Utopians agaynste all nations, bycause they geve them greatter wayges, then annye other nation wyll. For the Utopians lyke as they seke good men to use wel, so they seke these evell and vicious men to abuse.[3] Whome, when neade requirethe, with promisses of greate rewardes they putte forthe into great jeopardyes. From whens the mooste parte of them never cummeth againe to aske their rewardes. But to them that remaine alive they paye that which they promissed faithfully, that they maye be the more willinge to put themselfes in like daunger another time. Nor the Utopianes passe not[4] how many of them they bring to destruction. For they beleve that they should doo a verye good deade for all mankind, if they could ridde out of the wordle[5] all that fowle stinking denne of that most wicked and cursed people. Next unto thies they use the soldiours of them for whom they fighte. And then the helpe of their other frendes. And laste of all, they joyne to theire oune

[1] Opposite sides.
[2] Acquired a taste for.
[3] To use for evil purposes.
[4] Care not.
[5] World—transposed as once before.

citizens. Emong whome they give to one of tried vertue and prowes the reule, goovernaunce, and conduction of the whole armye. Under him they appoynte ii. other, whyche, whyles he is sauffe, be bothe private and oute of offyce. But yf he be taken or slayne, the one of the other ij. succedeth hym, as it were by inherytaunce. And if the seconde miscarrye, then the thirde taketh his rowme,[1] leaste that (as the chaunce of battell is uncerteine and doubtful) the jeopardye or deathe of the capitaine shoulde brynge the whole armye in hasarde. They chuese[2] soldyours out of every citye those, whych putte furthe themselffes wyllyngelye. For they thruste no man forthe into warre agaynste his wyll. Bycause they beleve, yf annye man be fearefull and fainte harted of nature, he wyll not onelye doo no manfull and hardy acte hym selfe, but also be occasyon of cowardenes to his fellowes. But if annye battell be made agaynste theire owne countreye, then they putt these cowardes (so that they be stronge bodyed) in shyppes amonge other bolde harted men. Or elles they dyspose them upon the walles, from whens they maye not flye. Thus what for shame that theire enemies be at hande, and what for[3] bycause they be without hope of runninge awaye, they forgette all feere. And manye times extreame necessitye turnethe cowardnes into prowes and manlynes. But as none of them is thrust forthe of his countrey into warre againste his wyll, so women that be wyllynge to accompany theire husbandes in times of warre be not prohibited or letted.[4] Yea they provoke and exhorte them to it with prayses. And in set fylde the wyves doo stande everye one by theire owne husbandes syde. Also every man is compassed next aboute with his owne children, kinsfolkes, and aliaunce.[5] That they, whom

[1] Room, place. [2] Choose.
[3] What . . . what = on the one hand . . . on the other hand.
[4] Prevented. [5] Relatives by marriage.

nature chiefely moveth to mutual succoure, thus standynge together, maye healpe one another. It is a great reproche and dishonesty for the husband to come home without his wiffe, or the wyffe withoute her husbande, or the sonne without his father. And therfore if the other part sticke so harde by it, that the battel come to their handes, it is fought with great slaughter and blodshed, even to the utter destruction of both partes. For as they make all the meanes and shyftes that maye be to kepe themselfes from the necessitye of fyghtinge, or that they may dispatche the battell by their hiered soldyours: so when there is no remedy, but that they must neades fight themselfes, then they do as corragiously fall to it, as before, whyles they myght, they did wiselye avoyde and refuse it. Nor they be not most fierce at the first bront.[1] But in continuance by litle and lytle theire fierce courage encreaseth, with so stubborne and obstynate myndes, that they wyll rather dye then gyve back an ynche. For that suertye of lyvinge, whiche everye man hath at home beinge joyned with noo carefull anxietye or remembraunce how theire posteritie shall lyve after them (for this pensifnes[2] oftentymes breakethe and abateth couragious stomakes)[3] maketh them stowte and hardye, and disdaineful to be conquered. Moreover theire knowledge in chevalrye[4] and feates of armes putteth them in a good hope. Finally the wholesome and vertuous opinions, wherin they were brought up even from theire childhode, partely through learnynge, and partelye throughe the good ordinaunces and lawes of theire weale publique, augmente and encrease theire manfull courage. By reason whereof they neither set so litle store by their lives, that they will rasshelye and unadvisedlye caste

[1] Brunt, onset, charge.
[2] Pensiveness—disquieting thought.
[3] Spirits, dispositions.
[4] Chivalry—in the general sense of military skill.

them away: nor they be not so farre in lewde and fond love[1] therewith, that they will shamefullye covete to kepe them, when honestie biddeth leave them. When the battel is hottest and in al places most fierce and fervent, a bende[2] of chosen and picked yong men, whiche be sworne to live and dye togethers, take upon them to destroye theire adversaries capitaine. Whome they invade,[3] now with privy wieles,[4] now by open strength. At him they strike both nere and farre of. He is assayled with a long and a continuall assaulte, freshe men styll commynge in the weried mens places. And seldome it chaunceth (onles he save hymselfe by flying) that he is not either slayne, or els taken prisoner and yelded to his enemies alive. If they wynne the fyelde, they persecute not theire enemies with the violent rage of slaughter. For they had rather take them alive then kyl them. Neither they do so follow the chase and pursute of theire enemies, but they leave behind them one parte of theire host in battaile arraye under their standardes. In so muche that if al their whole armie be discumfeted and overcum saving the rerewarde,[5] and that they therewith atchieve the victory, then they had rather lette al their enemies scape, than to followe them out of array. For they remembre, it hath chaunced unto themselfes more than ones; the whole powre and strength of their hoste being vanquished and put to flight, whiles their enemies rejoysing in the victory have persecuted them flying some one way and some another, a small companye of theire men lying in an ambushe, there redy at al occasions, have sodainelye rysen upon them thus dispersed and scattered oute of arraye, and through presumption of safety unadvisedly pursuing the chase: and have incontinent changed the fortune of the

The capitane is chiefelye to be pursued to thintente the battell maye the soner be ended

[1] Ignorant and foolish love. [2] Band.
[3] Attack. [4] Wiles. [5] Except the rearguard.

whole battayll: and spite of their tethes[1] wrestinge oute of their handes the sure and undouted victorye, being a litle before conquered, have for their parte conquered the conquerers. It is hard to say whether they be craftier in layinge an ambushe, or wittier in avoydinge the same. You would thinke they intende to flye, when they meane nothing lesse. And contrarye wyse when they go about that purpose, you wold beleve it were the leaste parte of their thought. For if they perceave themselfes either overmatched in numbre, or closed in too narrowe a place, then they remove their campe either in the night season with silence, or by some pollicie[2] they deceave theire enemies, or in the day time they retiere backe so softelye, that it is no lesse jeoperdie to medle with them when they geve backe,[3] then when they preese[4] on. They fence and fortifie their campe sewerlye[5] with a deape and a brode trenche. The earth therof is cast inward. Nor they do not set drudgeis and slaves aworke about it. It is doone by the handes of the souldiours them selfes. All the whole armye worketh upon it, excepte them that kepe watche and warde in harneis[6] before the trenche for sodeine aventures. Therefore by the labour of so manye a large trenche closinge in a greate compasse of grounde is made in lesse tyme then anye man woulde beleve.

Their armour. Theire armoure or harneys, whiche they weare, is sure and strong to receave strokes, and handsome for all movinges and gestures of the bodye, insomuche that it is not unweldye to swymme in. For in the discipline of theire warefare amonge other feates thei learne to swimme in harnes. Their weapons be arrowes aloufe,[7] whyche they shote both strongely and surelye, not onelye fotemen, but also

[1] In spite of all resistance (tethes = teeth).
[2] Feint or stratagem.
[3] Retreat.
[4] Press.
[5] Surely, safely.
[6] In harness, *i.e.* in armour, or fully armed.
[7] Aloof, at a distance.

horsemen. At hande strokes they use not swordes but pollaxes, whiche be mortall, as wel in sharpenes, as in weyghte, bothe for foynes[1] and downe strokes. Engines for warre they devyse and invent wonders wittelye. Whiche when they be made they kepe verye secrete, leaste yf they shoulde be knowen before neade requyre, they should be but laughed at and serve to no purpose. But in makynge them, hereunto they have chiefe respecte, that they be both easy to be caried, and handsome[2] to be moved, and turned about. Truce taken with their enemies for a shorte time theye do so firmelye and faythfullye keape, that they wyll not breake it: no not though they be thereunto provoked. They doe not waste nor destroye theire enemies lande with forraginges, nor they burne not up their corne. Yea, they save it as muche as may be from being overrunne and troden downe either with men or horses, thinkinge that it growethe for theire owne use and proffit. They hurt no man that is unarmed, onles he be an espiall.[3] All cities that be yelded unto them they defende. And suche as they wynne by force of assaulte, they neither dispoyle nor sacke, but them that withstode and dyssuaded the yeldynge up of the same, they put to deathe, the other souldiours they punnyshe with bondage. All the weake multitude they leave untouched. If they knowe that annye cytezeins counselled to yealde and rendre up the citie, to them they gyve parte of the condemned mens goods. The resydewe they distribute and give frelye amonge them, whose helpe they had in the same warre. For none of them selfes taketh anye portion of the praye. But when the battaile is finished and ended, they put theire frendes to never a penny coste of al the charges that they

Of trueces

[1] Thrusts, as distinguished from cuts. Readers of Malory will be familiar with "foining."

[2] Where we should say "handy."

[3] Spy—as in the "lawful espials" of *Hamlet*, Act iii. Sc. 1.

were at, but laye it upon theire neckes that be conquered.[1] Them they burdeine with the whole charge of theire expenseis, whiche they demaunde of them partelye in moneie to be kept for like use of battayll, and partelye in landes of greate revenues to be payde unto them yearelye for ever. Suche revenues they have now in manye countreis. Whiche by litle and litle rysinge of dyvers and sondry causes be increased above vii. hundrethe thousand ducates by the yere. Thether they sende forth some of their citezeins as lieuetenauntes, to live there sumptuously like men of honoure and renowne. And yet this not withstandinge muche moneye is saved, which commeth to the commen treasory: onles it so chaunce, that they had rather trust the countrey with the money. Which many times they do so long, until they have nede to occupie it. And it seldome happeneth that thei demaund al. Of these landes they assigne parte unto them, which at their request and exhortacion, put themselfes in such jeoperdies, as I spake of before. If anye prince stirre up warre agaynste them, intending to invade theire lande, they mete hym incontinent oute of theire owne borders with greate powre and strengthe. For they never lyghtely make warre in their owne countrei. Nor they be never broughte into so extreme necessitie as to take help out of forreyne landes into their owne Ilande.

[1] Make the conquered bear the burden of the cost.

Of the Religions in Utopia.

THERE be divers kindes of religion not only in sondrie partes of the Ilande, but also in divers places of every citie. Some worship for God the sonne: some the mone: some, some other of the planettes. There be that give worship to a man that was ones of excellente vertue or of famous glory, not only as God, but also as the chiefest and hyghest God. But the moste and the wysest parte (rejectynge al these) beleve that there is a certayne Godlie powre unknowen, everlastinge, incomprehensible, inexplicable, farre above the capacitie and retche[1] of mans witte, dispersed throughoute all the worlde, not in bignes, but in vertue and power. Him they call the father of al. To him alone they attribute the beginninges, the encreasinges, the procedinges, the chaunges, and the endes of al thinges. Neither they geve any divine honours to any other then to him. Yea al the other also, though they be in divers opinions, yet in this pointe they agree all togethers with the wisest sorte, in beleving that there is one chiefe and principall God, the maker and ruler of the whole worlde: whome they all commonlye in their countrey language call Mythra.[2] But in this they disagree, that among some he is counted one, and amonge some an other. For every one of them, whatsoever that is whiche he taketh for the chief god, thinketh it to be the very same nature, to whose only divine mighte and majestie, the summe and soveraintie of al thinges by the consent of al people is attributed and geven. Howbeit they all begyn by

[1] Reach.

[2] We were told earlier that the Utopian language resembled the Persian; to complete the illusion, More adapts for his purpose Mithras, the Persian Sun-god.

litle and litle to forsake and fall from this varietie of superstitions, and to agre togethers in that religion whiche semethe by reason to passe and excell the residewe. And it is not to be doubted, but all the other would long agoo have bene abolished, but that whatsoever unprosperous thynge happened to anie of them, as he was mynded to chaunge his religion,[1] the fearefulnesse of people did take it, not as a thinge comminge by chaunce, but as sente from GOD out of heaven. As thoughe the God, whose honoure he was forsakynge woulde revenge that wicked purpose against him. But after they hearde us speake of the name of Christe, of his doctrine, lawes, myracles, and of thee no lesse wonderful constancie of so manye martyrs, whose bloude wyllinglye shedde broughte a great numbre of nations throughoute all partes of the worlde into their sect: you will not beleve with howe gladde mindes, they agreed unto the same: whether it were by the secrete inspiration of GOD, or elles for that they thought it nieghest unto that opinion, which among them is counted the chiefest. Howbeit I thinke this was no smale helpe and furtheraunce in the matter, that they harde us say, that Christ instituted among his, al thinges commen: and that the same communitie doth yet remaine amongest the rightest Christian companies. Verely howsoever it came to passe, manye of them consented togethers in our religion, and were wasshed in the holy water of baptisme. But because among us foure (for no mo of us was left alive, two of our companye beyng dead) there was no priest, which I am right sorie for: they beynge entered[2] and instructed in al other pointes of our religion, lacke onely those sacramentes, whiche here none but priestes do minister. Howbeit they understand and perceive them, and be very desierous of the same. Yea, they

Religious houses

[1] While he was making up his mind to change his religion.
[2] Initiated.

reason and dispute the matter earnestly among themselves, whether without the sending of a christian bishop, one chosen out of their own people may receave the ordre of priesthod. And truely they were minded to chuese one. But at my departure from them they had chosen none. They also which do not agree to Christes religion, feare[1] no man from it, nor speake against any man that hath received it. Saving that one of our company in my presence was sharpely punished. He as soone as he was baptised, began against our willes, with more earneste affection, then wisedome,[2] to reason of Christes religion: and began to waxe so hote in his matter, that he did not onlye preferre our religion before al other, but also did utterly despise and condempne al other, calling them prophane, and the folowers of them wicked and develish, and the children of everlastinge dampnation. When he had thus longe reasoned the matter, they laide holde on him, accused him and condempned him into exile, not as a despiser of religion, but as a sedicious person and a raiser up of dissention amonge the people. For this is one of the auncientest lawes among them: that no man shall be blamed for resoninge in the maintenaunce of his owne religion. For kyng Utopus, even at the firste beginning, hearing that the inhabitauntes of the land wer before his comming thether, at continuall dissention and strife amonge themselves for their religions: perceyving also that this common dissention (whiles every severall secte took several partes[3] in fighting for their countrey) was the only occasion of his conquest over them al, as sone as had he gotten the victory: Firste of all he made a decree, that it should be lawfull for everie man to favoure and folow what religion he would, and that he mighte do the best he could to bring other to his opinion, so that he did it peaceablie,

[1] Frighten, intimidate.
[2] With more zeal than discretion.
[3] Separate sides.

gentelie, quietly, and soberlie, without hastie and contentious rebuking and invehing against other. If he could not by faire and gentle speche induce them unto his opinion yet he should use no kinde of violence, and refraine from displeasaunte and seditious woordes.

Seditious reasoners punished

To him that would vehemently and fervently in this cause strive and contende was decreed banishment or bondage. This lawe did kynge Utopus make not only for the maintenaunce of peace, which he saw through continuall contention and mortal hatred utterly extinguished: but also because he thought this decrie should make for the furtheraunce of religion. Wherof he durst define and determine nothing unadvisedlie, as douting whether god desiering manifolde and diverse sortes of honour, would inspire sondry men with sondrie kindes of religion. And this suerly he thought a very unmete and folish thing, and a point of arrogant presumption, to compell all other by violence and threateninges to agre to the same, that thou belevest to be trew. Furthermore thoughe there be one religion whiche alone is trew, and al other vaine and superstitious, yet did he wel foresee (so that the matter were handeled with reason, and sober modestie) that the trueth of the own powre[1] would at the last issue out and come to lyghte. But if contention and debate in that behalfe should continuallye be used, as the woorste men be mooste obstinate and stubbourne, and in their evyll opinion mooste constante: he perceaved that then the beste and holyest religion woulde be troden underfote and destroyed by most vaine supersticions, even as good corne is by thornes and weedes overgrowen and chooked. Therfore all this matter he lefte undiscussed, and gave to everye man free libertie and choise to beleve what he woulde. Savinge that

No vile opinion to be conceaved of mans worthy nature

[1] Of its own power.

he earnestelye and straitelye charged them, that no man shoulde conceave so vile and baase an opinion of the dignitie of mans nature, as to think that the soules do die and perishe with the bodye; or that the world runneth at al aventures[1] governed by no divine providence. And therfore thei beleve that after this life vices be extreamelye punished and vertues bountifully rewarded. Hym that is of a contrary opinion they counte not in the numbre of men, as one that hathe avaled[2] the heighe nature of hys soule to the vielnes of brute beastes bodies: muche less[3] in the numbre of their citiziens, whose laws and ordenaunces, if it were not for feare, he wold nothing at al esteme. For you maye be suer that he will studie either with craft prively to mocke, or els violently to breake the commen lawes of his countrey, in whom remaineth no further feare then of the lawes, nor no further hope then of the bodye. Wherfore he that is thus minded is deprived of all honours, excluded from all offices and rejecte[4] from all common administrations in the weale publique. And thus he is of all sortes despised, as of an unprofitable, and of a base and vile nature. Howbeit they put him to no punishment, because they be persuaded that it is in no mans power to beleve what he list. No nor they constraine hym not with threatninges to dissemble his minde, and shew countenaunce contrarie to his thought. For deceit and falshod and al maners of lies, as nexte unto fraude, they do mervelouslie deteste and abhorre. But they suffer him not to dispute in his opinion, and that onelye[5] amonge the commen people. For els aparte amonge the priestes

Irreligious people secluded from all honours

A very straung sayinge

Deceit and falsehod detested.

[1] At hazard, or by chance. [2] Lowered.

[3] The disbeliever in immortality is not reckoned even as a mere man—much less as one of the developed men who form their citizens.

[4] Cast out.

[5] *I.e.* the prohibition extends only to discussion among the unlearned.

and men of gravitie they do not onelye suffer, but also exhorte him to dispute and argue: hoping that at the last, that madnes wil geve place to reason. There be also other, and of them no small numbre, which be not forbidden to speake theyr mindes, as grounding their opinion upon some reason, beyng in their living neither evell nor vicious. Their heresie is much contrarie to the other. For they beleve that the soules of brute beastes be immortall and everlasting. But nothynge to be compared with oures in dignitie, neither ordeined nor predestinate to like felicitie. For al they[1] beleve certeinly and sewerly that mans blesse shal be so great, that they do mourne and lament every mans sicknes, but no mans death, oneles it be one whome they see depart from his life carefullie,[2] and agaynst his will. For this they take for a verye evel token, as thoughe the soule beynge in dispaire and vexed in conscience, through some privie and secret forefeiling[3] of the punishement now at hande were aferde to depart. And they thinke he shall not be welcome to God, which, when he is called, runneth not to him gladlye, but is drawen by force and sore against his will. They therfore that see this kinde of deathe do abhorre it, and them that so die they burie with sorow and silence. And when they have praied God to be mercifull to the soule, and mercifully to pardon the infirmities therof, they cover the dead coorse with earth. Contrariewise all that departe merely[4] and ful of good hope, for them no man mourneth, but followeth the heerse with joyfull synging, commending the soules to God with great affection. And at the last, not with mourning sorrow, but with a great reverence they bourne[5] the bodies. And in the same

A marvelous straunge opinion touching the soules of brute beastes

To die unwillyngly an evel token

A willing and a merye deathe not to be lamented

[1] For they all. [2] Full of care. [3] Forefeeling, anticipation.
[4] Merrily, readily. [5] Burn.

place they sette up a piller of stone, with the dead mans titles therin graved. When they be come home they reherse his vertuous maners and his good dedes. But no part of his life is so oft or gladly talked of as his meri deth. They thinke that this remembraunce of the vertue and goodnes of the dead doeth vehemently provoke and enforce the living to vertue. And that nothing can be more pleasaunt and acceptable to the deade. Whom they suppose to be present among them, when they talke of them, though to the dull and feble eiesight of mortall men they be invisible. For it were an unconvenient thinge that the blessed shoulde not be at libertie to goo whether they woulde. And it were a pointe of greate unkindnes in them to have utterly caste awaye the desire of visitinge and seing their frendes, to whome they were in their life time joyned by mutuall love and amitie. Whiche in good men after their deathe they counte to be rather increased then diminished. They beleve therefore that the deade be presentlye conversaunt[1] amonge the quicke, as beholders and witnesses of all their wordes and deedes. Therfore they go more corragiously to their busines as having a trust and affiaunce[2] in such overseers. And this same belefe of the present conversation of their forefathers and auncetours among them feareth them from all secrete dishonestie. They utterly despise and mocke sothsayinges and divinations of thinges to come by the flighte or voices of birdes, and all other divinations of vaine superstition, whiche in other countreis be in greate observation. But they highlye esteme and worshyppe miracles that come by no healpe of nature,[3] as woorkes and witnesses of the presente power of God. And suche they saye do chaunce there verye often. And sometimes in great and doubtefull matters, by

Sothsayers not regarded nor credited

Miracles

[1] *I.e.* the dead really mingle unseen with the living. [2] Confidence.
[3] That come out of nature's regular course.

commen intercession and prayers, they procure and obteine them with a sure hope and confidence, and a stedfast belefe.

They thinke that the contemplation of nature and the prayse thereof comminge,[1] is to God a very acceptable honoure. Yet there be many so earnestlye bent and affectioned to religion, that they passe no thing[2] for lerning, nor geve their mindes to any knowledge of thinges.[3] But ydelnes they utterly forsake and eschue, thinking felicitie after this life to be gotten and obteined by busie labors and good exercises. Some therfore of them attende upon the sicke, some, amende high waies, clense ditches, repaire bridges, digge turfes, gravell, and stones, fel and cleave wood bring wood, corne and other thinges into the cities in cartes, and serve not onelye in commen woorkes, but also in private laboures as servauntes, yea, more then bondmen. For what so ever unpleasaunt, harde, and vile worke is anye where, from the whiche labour, lothsomnes, and desperation doth fray[4] other, al that they take upon them willingly and gladly, procuring quiete and rest to other, remaininge in continual woorke and labour themselves, not embraidinge[5] others therewith. They neither reprove other mens lives, nor glorie in theire owne. These men the more serviceable they behave themselves, the more they be honoured of all men. Yet they be divided into two sectes. The one is of them that live single and chast, absteining not onely from the companie of women, but also from eating of fleshe, and some of them from all maner of beastes. Whiche utterly rejecting the pleasures of this present life as hurtfull, be all wholye set upon the desier of the lyfe to come by watchynge, and sweatynge, hoopinge shortly to

The life contemplative

The life active

[1] And the spoken gladness that arises from this contemplation.
[2] They care nothing.
[3] Ordinary matters.
[4] Frighten.
[5] Upbraiding.

obtaine it, being in the méane season merie and lustie. The other secte is no lesse desirous of laboure, but they embrace matrimonye, not despisynge the solace therof, thinking that they can not be discharged of their bounden duties towardes nature without labour and toyle, nor towardes their native countrey without procreation of children. They abstaine from no pleasure that doeth nothinge hinder them from laboure. They love the flesh of foure footed beastes, bicause they beleve that by that meate they be made hardier and stronger to woorke. The Utopians counte this secte the wiser but the other the holier. Which in that they preferre single life before matrimony, and that sharp life before an easier life, if herein they grounded upon reason they would mock them.[1] But now forasmuch as they say they be led to it by religion, they honor and worship them. And these be they whom in their language by a peculiar name, they cal Buthrescas,[2] the which woord by interpretation signifieth to us men of religion or religious men. They have priestes of exceding holines, and therefore very few. For there be but xiii. in every citie accordinge to the number of their churches, savyng when they go furthe to battell. For than vii. of them goo furth with the armie: in whose steades so manie newe be made at home. But the other at their retourne home again reentre every one into his owne place, they that be above the numbre, untill suche

It is not all one to be wise and good

Priestes

[1] The sense of the last two sentences is this: "If they based their abstinence upon reason, they would be laughed at; but since they abstain for the sake of religion they are honoured." Then follows a sentence not translated by Robinson; In Burnet it reads thus: "There is nothing in which they are more cautious than in giving their opinion positively concerning any sort of religion."

[2] Another of More's Greek coinages. It signifies "extremely religious persons." (*θρῆσκος*, religious: the prefix *βου-* is a form of *βοῦς*, ox, used to express great magnitude—just as we use "horse" in "horse-radish," "horse-chestnut.")

time as they succede into the places of the other at their dyinge, be in the meane season continuallie in companie with the bishoppe. For he is the chiefe heade of them al. They be chosen of the people, as the other magistrates be, by secrete voices for the avoydinge of strife. After their election they be consecrate of their own companie. They be overseers of al divine matters, orderers of religions,[1] and as it wer judges and maisters of maners. And it is a great dishonestie and shame to be rebuked or spoken to by any of them for dissolute and incontinent living. But as it is their office to geve good exhortations and counsel, so is it the dutie of the prince and the other magistrates to correct and punishe offenders, saving that the priestes, whome they find exceading vicious livers, them they excommunicate from having anye interest in divine matters.[2] And there is almoste no punishement amonge them more feared. For they runne in verye great infamie,[3] and be inwardly tormented with a secret feare of religion, and shall not long scape free with their bodies. For unlesse they by quicke repentaunce approve[4] the amendement of their lives to the priestes, they be taken and punished of the counsel, as wicked and irreligious. Both childhode and youth is instructed, and taught of them.[5] Nor they be not more diligente to instructe them in learning, then in vertue and good maners. For they use with verie great endevour and diligence to put into the heades of their children, whiles they be yet tender and pliaunte, good opinions and profitable for the conservation of their weale publique. Which when

Excommunication

[1] Ceremonies.

[2] This is misleading: the antecedent of "whom" is of course not "priests," but "them" (offenders); *i.e.* the magistrates punish offenders, and the priests excommunicate them if they have been specially vicious.

[3] They fall into great disgrace.

[4] Give proof of.

[5] *I.e.* by the priests.

they be once rooted in children, do remayne with them al their life after, and be wonders profitable for the defence and maintenaunce of the state of the commen welth. Whiche never decaieth but throughe vices risinge of evill opinions. The priestes, onles they be women (for that kinde is not excluded from priesthoode, howbeit fewe be chosen, and none but widdowes and old women) the men priestes, I saye, take to their wifes the chiefest women in all their countreye. For to no office among the Utopians is more honour and preeminence geven. In so much that if they commit any offence, they be under no commen[1] judgement, but be left only to God and themselfes. For thei thinke it not lawful to touch him with mannes hande, be he never so vitious, which after so singular a sort was dedicate and consecrate to God, as a holly offering. This maner may they easelye observe, bicause they have so fewe priestes, and do chuse them with such circumspection. For it scasely ever chaunceth that the moste vertuous amonge vertuous, which in respect only of his vertue is avaunced to so high a dignity, can fal to vice and wickednes. And if it should chaunce in dede (as mans nature is mutable and fraile) yet by reason they be so fewe and promoted to no might nor powre, but only to honoure, it were not to be feared that anye great dammage by them should happen and ensue to the commen wealthe. They have so rare and fewe priestes, least if the honour were communicated to many, the digniti of the ordre, which among them now is so highly estemed, should rune in contempt. Speciallye bicause they thincke it hard to find many so good as to be meet for that dignity, to the execution and discharge whereof it is not sufficiente to be endued with meane[2] vertues. Furthermore these priestes be not more estemed of their owne countrey

Women priestes

The majestie and preminence of priestes

[1] Public. [2] Ordinary.

men, then they be of forrein and straunge countreis. Which thinge maye hereby plainly appere. And I thinke also that this is the cause of it. For whiles the armies be fighting together in open feld they a litle beside not farre of[1] knele upon their knees in their hallowed vestimentes, holding up their handes to heaven: praing first of all for peace, nexte for vyctory of their owne parte, but to neyther part a bluddy victory. If their host gette the upper hand, they runne in to the mayne battayle and restrayne their owne men from sleying and cruelly pursuinge theire vanquyshed enemies. Whyche enemyes, yf they doo but see them and speake to them, it is ynoughe for the savegarde of theire lyves. And the touching of theire clothes defendeth and saveth al their gooddes from ravine and spoyle. This thinge hathe avaunced them to so greate wourship and trewe majesty among al nations, that manye times they have aswel preserved theire own citizens from the cruel force of their enemies, as they have theire enemies from the furyous rage of theire owne men. For it is well knowen, that when theire owne army hathe reculed,[2] and in dyspayre turned backe, and runne away, their ennemies fyerslye[3] pursuing with slaughter and spoyle, then the priestes cumming betwene have stayed the murder, and parted bothe the hostes. So that peace hath bene made and concluded betwene bothe partes upon equall and indifferent conditions.[4] For there was never any nation, so fierce, so cruell, and rude, but they hadde them in suche reverence, that they counted their bodyes hallowed and sanctified, and therefore not to be violentlye and unreverentlye touched. They kepe hollye the firste and the laste daye of every moneth and yeare, divydinge the yeare into monethes, whyche they

[1] Away from the battle, but not too far off.
[2] Recoiled.
[3] Fiercely.
[4] Impartial terms.

measure by the course of the moone, as they doo the yeare by the course of the sonne. The fyrste dayes they call in theire language Cynemernes and the laste Trapemernes,[1] the whyche woordes may be interpreted, primifeste and finifest, or els in our speache, first feaste and last feast. Their churches be verye gorgious, and not onelye of fine and curious[2] workemanship, but also (which in the fewenes of them was necessary) very wide and large, and hable to receave a great company of people. But they be al sumwhat darke. Howbeit that was not donne through ignoraunce in buildinge, but as they say, by the counsel of the priestes. Bicause they thought that over much light doth disperse mens cogitations, whereas in dimme and doubtful lighte they be gathered together, and more earnestly fixed upon religion and devotion: which bicause it is not there of one sort among all men, and yet all the kindes and fassions of it, thoughe they be sondry and manifold, agre together in the honour of the divine nature, as goyng divers wayes to one ende: therefore nothing is sene nor heard in the churches, but that semeth to agre indefferently[3] with them all. If there be a distinct kind of sacrifice[4] peculiar to anye several[5] secte, that they execute at home in their owne houses

The observacion of holy daies amonge the Utopians

Their churcheis

Churcheis of dimme light and a reason why

[1] Two obscure words: Lupton explains the first as the "dog's day" of the month (from *κυνός*, dog, *ἡμέρα*, day), when the barking of the dogs was taken as a sign of the approach of Hecate. Thus in the second Idyl of Theocritus, Simaetha, the sorceress, invoking Hecate, says (in Lang's version), "Hark, 'tis so; the hounds are baying up and down the town! The goddess stands where the three ways meet!" The latter word he explains as the "turning or closing day of the month" (from *τρέπειν*, to turn). All of which may or may not be—the matter is not very important. "Cynemernes" appears in some editions as "Lynemernes"; but this is a mistake.

[2] Elaborate.

[3] Impartially.

[4] More in the sense of "sacrament," and so a few lines below.

[5] Separate.

The common sacrifices be so ordered, that they be no derogation nor prejudice to anye of the private sacrifices and religions. Therefore no ymage of annye god is seene in the churche, to the intente it maye bee free for every man to conceive god by their religion after what likenes and similitude they will. They call upon no peculiar name of god, but only Mithra.[1] In the which word they all agree together in one nature of the divine majesti whatsoever it be. No prayers bee used but suche as everye man maye boldelie pronounce withoute the offendinge of anny secte. They come therefore to the churche the laste day of everye moneth and yeare, in the evenynge yet fastinge, there to gyve thankes to GOD for that they have prosperouslye passed over the yeare or monethe, wherof that hollye daye is the laste daye. The nexte daye they come to the church earlye in the mornyng, to praye to GOD that they maye have good fortune and successe all the newe yeare or monethe whych they doo begynne of that same hollye daye. But in the holly dayes that be the laste dayes of the monethes and yeares, before they come to the churche, the wives fall downe prostrat before theire husbandes feet at home, and the children before the feete of their parentes, confessinge and acknowleginge themselfes offenders either by some actuall dede, or by omission of their deuty, and desire pardon for their offense. Thus yf anye cloude of privy displeasure was risen at home, by this satisfaction it is overblowen, that they may be presente at the sacrifices with pure and charitable mindes. For they be aferd to come there with troubled consciences. Therefore if they knowe themselfes to beare anye hatred or grudge towardes anye man, they presume not to come to the sacrifices, before they have reconciled

The confession of the Utopians

[1] *I.e.* there is no sacred, hidden name of the deity, known only to the elect of certain sects.

themselfes and purged theire consciences, for feare of greate vengeaunce and punyshemente for their offense. When they come thether, the men goo into the ryghte syde of the churche, and the women into the lefte syde. There they place themselfes in suche ordre, that all they whyche be of the male kinde in every houshold sitte before the goodman of the house, and they of the female kinde before the goodwyfe. Thus it is forsene[1] that all their gestures and behaviours be marked and observed abrode of them by whose authority and discipline they be governed at home. This also they diligently see unto, that the younger evermore be coupled with his elder, lest children beinge joyned together, they should passe over[2] that time in childish wantonnes, wherin they ought principally to conceave a religious and devoute feare towardes god, which is the chieffe and almost the only incitation to vertu. They kill no living beast in sacrifice, nor they thinke not that the merciful clemencye of god hath delite in bloude and slaughter, which hath geven liffe to beastes to the intent they should live. They burne franckensence and other sweet savours, and light also a greate numbre of waxe candelles and tapers, not supposinge this geare to be any thing avaylable to the divine nature, as neither the prayers of men.[3] But this unhurtful and harmeles kind of worship pleaseth them. And by thies sweet savoures and lightes, and other such ceremonies men feele themselfes secretlye lifted up, and encouraged to devotion with more willynge and fervent hartes. The people wearethe in the churche white apparell. The priest

An order for places in the churche

Ceremonies

[1] Arranged for (not simply "foreseen" in the modern sense).
[2] Pass, or spend, that time.
[3] Not supposing these accessories to be necessary to God—any more than prayers are.

is clothed in chaungeable colours.[1] Whiche in workemanshipe bee excellent, but in stuffe not verye pretious. For theire vestimentes be neither embraudered with gold, nor set with precious stones. But they be wrought so fynely and conningelye with divers fethers and foules, that the estimation[2] of no costely stuffe is hable to countervaile[3] the price of the worke. Furthermore in these birdes fethers, and in the dewe ordre of them, whiche is observed in theire setting, they saye, is conteyned certaine divine misteries. The interpretation whereof knowen, whiche is diligentlye taught by the priestes, they be put in remembraunce of the bountifull benefites of God towarde them; and of the love and honoure whiche of theire behalfe is dewe to God; and also of their deuties one towarde another. When the priest first commeth out of the vestry thus apparelled, they fall downe incontinent everye one reverentlye to the ground, with so still silence on everye part, that the very fassion of the thinge[4] striketh into them a certayne feare of God, as though he were there personally presente. When they have lien a litle space on the ground, the priest gevethe them a signe for to ryse. Then they sing prayses unto God, whiche they intermixt with instrumentes of musicke, for the moste parte of other fassions then these that we use in this parte of the worlde. And like as some of ours bee muche sweter then theirs, so some of theirs doo farre passe ours. But in one thinge doubtles they goo exceding farre beyonde us. For all their musike bothe that they playe upon instrumentes, and that they singe with mannes voyce dothe so resemble and expresse naturall affections, the sound and tune is so applied and made agreable to the thinge, that whether it bee a prayer, or els a dytty of gladnes, of patience,

Theire church-musike

[1] Probably (as earlier) "shot" material. [2] Value. [3] To equal.
[4] *I.e.* the mere outward act.

of trouble, of mournynge, or of anger: the fassion of the melodye dothe so represente the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfullye move, stirre, pearce, and enflame the hearers myndes. At the laste the people and the priest together rehearse solempne prayers in woordes, expreslye pronounced, so made that everye man maye privatelye applye to hymselfe that which is commonlye spoken of all.[1] In these prayers everye man recognisethe and knowledgethe God to be hys maker, hys governoure, and the principal cause of all other goodnes, thankynge him for so many benefites receaved at his hande. But namelye[2] that throughe the favoure of God he hath chaunced into that publyque weale, whiche is moste happye and welthye,[3] and hathe chosen that religion, whyche he hopeth to be moste true. In the whyche thinge if he doo anye thinge erre, or yf there be any other better then eyther of them is, being more acceptable to God, he desierethe him that he wyl of his goodnes let him have knowledge thereof, as one that is ready too followe what way soever he wyll leade hym. But yf this fourme and fassion of a commen wealthe bee beste, and his owne relygion most true and perfecte, then he desyrethe GOD to gyve hym a constaunte stedefastnes in the same, and too brynge all other people to the same ordre of lyvynge, and to the same opinion of God onles there bee annye thinge that in this diversitye of religions dothe delite his unsercheable pleasure. To be shorte he prayeth hym, that after his deathe he maye come to him. But how soone or late that he dare not assygne or determine. Howebeit, if it myght stande with his majesties

Prayers

[1] The sense is: the prayers are in definite set terms ("expressly pronounced"), and every man can apply to himself that which is spoken of all in common.

[2] Especially.

[3] Not in our sense, but rather "well-ordered."

pleasure, he woulde be muche gladder to dye a paynefull deathe and so to goo to God, then by longe lyving in worldlye prosperitye to bee awaye from him. Whan this prayer is said they fal doune to the ground again and a lytle after they ryse up and go to dinner. And the resydewe of the daye they passe over in playes, and exercise of chevalrye.[1]

Nowe I have declared and described unto you, as truelye as I coulde the fourme and ordre of that commen wealth, which verely in my judgment is not only the beste, but also that which alone of good right maye claime and take upon it the name of a commen wealth or publique weale. For in other places they speake stil of the commen wealth. But every man procureth his owne private gaine. Here where nothinge is private, the commen affaires bee earnestlye loked upon. And truely on both partes they have good cause so to do as they do. For in other countreys who knoweth not that he shall sterve for honger, onles he make some severall[2] provision for himselfe, though the commen wealthe floryshe never so muche in ryches? And therefore he is compelled even of verye necessitie to have regarde to him selfe, rather then to the people, that is to saye, to other. Contrarywyse there where all thinges be commen to every man, it is not to be doubted that any man shal lacke anye thinge necessary for his private uses: so that the commen store houses and bernes be sufficientlye stored. For there nothinge is distributed after a nyggyshe[3] sorte, neither there is anye poore man or begger. And thoughe no man have anye thinge, yet everye man is ryche. For what can be more riche, then to lyve joyfully and merely,[4] without al griefe and pensifenes:[5] not caring for his owne lyving, nor vexed or troubled with his wifes

[1] Military exercises.
[2] Separate.
[3] Niggardly.
[4] Merrily.
[5] Pensiveness, worry.

importunate complayntes, nor dreadynge povertie to his sonne, nor sorrowyng for his doughters dowrey? Yea they take no care at all for the lyvying and wealthe of themselfes and al theirs, of theire wyfes, theire chyldren, theire nephewes, theire childrens chyldren, and all the succession that ever shall followe in theire posteritie. And yet besydes this there is no lesse provision for them that were ones labourers, and be nowe weake and impotent, then for them that do nowe laboure and take payne. Here nowe woulde I see, yf anye man dare bee so bolde as to compare with this equytie, the justice of other nations. Among whom, I forsake God,[1] if I can fynde any signe or token of equitie and justice. For what justice is this, that a ryche goldesmythe,[2] or an usurer, or to bee shorte anye of them, which either doo nothing at all, or els that whyche they doo is such, that it is not very necessary to the common wealth, should have a pleasaunte and a welthie lyvinge, either by Idlenes, or by unnecessarye busines: when in the meane tyme poore labourers, carters, yronsmythes, carpenters, and plowmen, by so greate and continual toyle, as drawing and bearinge beastes be skant hable to susteine,[3] and againe so necessary toyle, that without it no common wealth were hable to continewe and endure one yere, should yet get so harde and poore a lyving, and lyve so wretched and miserable a lyfe, that the state and condition of the labouringe beastes maye seme muche better and welthier? For they be not put to soo continuall laboure, nor theire lyvinge is not muche worse, yea to them much pleasaunter, takynge no thoughte in the meane season for the tyme to come. But these seilye[4] poore wretches be presently

[1] An oath of "mickle might," equivalent to "may I be destroyed."
[2] Banker.
[3] Such toil as beasts of burden are scarcely able to bear.
[4] Silly.

tormented with barreyne and unfrutefull labour. And the remembraunce of theire poore indigent and beggerlye olde age kylleth them up. For theire dayly wages is so lytle, that it will not suffice for the same daye, muche lesse it yeldeth any overplus, that may daylye be layde up for the relyefe of olde age. Is not this an unjust and an unkynde publyque weale, whyche gyveth great fees and rewardes to gentlemen, as they call them, and to goldsmythes, and to suche other, whiche be either ydle persones, or els onlye flatterers, and devysers of vayne pleasures: And of the contrary parte maketh no gentle provision for poore plowmen, coliars, laborers, carters, yronsmythes, and carpenters: without whome no commen wealthe can continewe? But after it hath abused the labours of theire lusty and flowring age, at the laste when they be oppressed with olde age and syckenes, being nedye, poore, and indigent of all thinges, then forgettyng their so manye paynefull watchinges, not remembring their so manye and so greate benefites, recompenseth and acquyteth them[1] moste unkyndly with myserable death. And yet besides this the riche men not only by private fraud but also by commen lawes do every day pluck and snatche awaye from the poore some parte of their daily living. So whereas it semed before unjuste to recompense with unkindnes their paynes that have bene beneficiall to the publique weale, nowe they have to this their wrong and unjuste dealinge (which is yet a muche worse pointe) geven the name of justice, yea and that by force of a law. Therfore when I consider and way[2] in my mind all these commen wealthes, which now a dayes any where do florish, so God helpe me, I can perceave nothing but a certein conspiracy of riche men procuringe theire owne commodities under the name and title of the commen wealth. They invent and devise all meanes and craftes, first how

[1] Requites, recompenses. [2] Weigh.

to kepe safely, without feare of lesing, that[1] they have unjustly gathered together, and next how to hire and abuse the worke and laboure of the poore for as litle money as may be. These devises, when the riche men have decreed to be kept and observed under coloure of the comminaltie, that is to saye, also of the pore people, then they be made lawes.[2] But these most wicked and vicious men, when they have by their unsatiable covetousness devided among them selves al those thinges, whiche woulde have sufficed all men, yet how farre be they from the welth and felicitie of the Utopian commen wealth? Out of the which, in that all the desire of money with the use thereof is utterly secluded and banished, howe greate a heape of cares is cut away! How great an occasion of wickednes and mischiefe is plucked up by the rotes! For who knoweth not, that fraud, theft, ravine,[3] brauling, quarelling, brabling,[4] striffe, chiding, contention, murder, treason, poisoning, which by daily punishmentes are rather revenged then refrained, do dye when money dieth? And also that feare, griefe, care, laboures and watchinges do perish even the very same moment that money perisheth? Yea poverty it selfe, which only semed to lacke money, if money were gone, it also would decrease and vanishe away. And that you may perceave this more plainly, consider with your selfes some barein and unfruteful yeare, wherin manye thousandes of people have starved for honger: I dare be bolde to say, that in the end of that penury so much corne or grain might have bene found in the rich mens bernes, if they had bene searched,

Contempte of money

[1] *I.e.* Without fear of losing what, etc.

[2] The sense is this: When the rich have managed to get these devices established by prescription, the authority of the whole community (poor included) is claimed for them, and they are made into laws.

[3] Rapine.

[4] Wrangling, snarling.

as being divided among them whome famine and pestilence then consumed, no man at al should have felt that plague and penuri. So easely might men gette their living, if that same worthye princesse Lady Money did not alone stop up the waye betwene us and our lyving, which a goddes name[1] was very excellently devised and invented, that by her the way therto should be opened. I am sewer the ryche men perceave this, nor they be not ignoraunte how much better it were too lacke noo necessarye thing, then to abunde with overmuche superfluite: to be ryd oute of innumerable cares and troubles, then to be beseiged and encombred with great ryches. And I dowte not that either the respecte of every mans private commoditie, or els the authority of oure savioure Christe (which for his great wisdom could not but know what were best, and for his inestimable goodnes could not but counsel to that which he knew to be best) wold have brought all the worlde longe agoo into the lawes of this weale publique, if it wer not that one only beast, the princesse and mother of all mischiefe Pride, doth withstande and let[2] it. She measurethe not wealth and prosperity by her owne commodities, but by the miserie and incommodities of other, she would not by her good will be made a goddesse, yf there were no wretches left, over whom she might, like a scorneful ladie rule and triumph, over whose miseries her felicities mighte shyne, whose povertie she myghte vexe, tormente, and encrease by gorgiously settynge furthe her richesse.[3] Thys hell-hounde creapeth into mens hartes: and plucketh them backe from entering the right pathe of life, and is so depely roted in mens brestes, that she can not be plucked out. This fourme and fashion of a

A mervelous sayinge

Pryde

[1] In God's name—an exclamation.

[2] Prevent.

[3] Interesting as giving the true singular form of our apparent plural "riches."

weale publique, which I would gladly wish unto al nations, I am glad yet that it hath chaunced to the Utopians, which have folowed those institutions of life, whereby they have laid such foundations of their common wealth, as shal continew and last not only wealthely,[1] but also, as far as mans wit may judge and conjecture, shall endure for ever. For, seyng the chiefe causes of ambition and sedition, with other vices be plucked up by the rootes, and abandoned at home, there can be no jeopardie of domisticall dissention,[2] whiche alone hathe caste under foote and brought to noughte the well fortified and stronglie defenced wealthe and riches of many cities. But forasmuch as perfect concorde remaineth, and wholsome lawes be executed at home, the envie of al forein princes be not hable to shake or move the empire, though they have many tymes long ago gone about to do it, beyng evermore driven backe.

Thus when Raphaell hadde made an ende of his tale, though many thinges came to my mind, which in the maners and lawes of that people semed to be instituted and founded of no good reason, not onely in the fashion of their chevalry, and in their sacrifices and religions, and in other of their lawes, but also, yea and chiefly, in that which is the principal foundation of al their ordinaunces, that is to say, in the communitie of their life and livynge, withoute anye occupieng of money, by the whiche thinge onelye all nobilitie, magnificence, wourshippe, honour, and majestie, the true ornamentes and honoures, as the common opinion is, of a common wealth, utterlye be overthrowen and destroied: yet because I knew that he was wery of talking, and was not sure whether he coulde abyde that anye thynge shoulde be sayde againste hys mynde:[3] speciallye remembrynge that he had reprehended this faulte in other,[4] which be

[1] Happily.
[2] No danger of civil strife at home.
[3] His opinion.
[4] In others.

aferde lest they should seme not to be wise enough, onles they could find some fault in other mens inventions: therfore I praising both their institutions and hys communication, toke him by the hand, and led him in to supper: sayinge that we woulde chuese an other time to waye and examine the same matters, and to talke with him moore at large therin. Whiche woulde God it might ones[1] come to passe. In the meane time, as I can not agree and consent to all thinges that he saide, beyng els without doubt a man singularly well learned, and also in all worldelye matters exactly and profoundly experienced, so must I nedes confesse and graunt that many thinges be in the Utopian weale publique, whiche in our cities I maye rather wishe for, then hope after.

THIUS ENDETH THE AFTERNOONES TALKE OF RAPHAEL HYTHLODAYE CONCERNING THE LAWES AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE ILANDE OF UTOPIA.

[1] Some day.

PETER GYLES TO HIEROME BUSLYDE.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIEROME BUSLYDE, PROVOST OF ARIENN, AND COUNSELLOURE TO THE CATHOLIKE KINGE CHARLES, PETER GYLES, CITIZEIN OF ANTWERPE, WISHETH HEALTH AND FELICITE.[1]

THOMAS MORE the singular ornamente of this our age, as you your self (right honourable Buslide) can witnesse, to whome he is perfectly wel knowen, sent unto me this other day the ylande of Utopia, to very few as yet knowen, but most worthy ; which as farre excelling Platoes commen wealthe,[2] all people should be willinge to know : specially of a man most eloquent so finely set furth, so conningly painted out, and so evidently subject to the eye, that as oft as I reade it, me thinketh that I see somwhat more, then when I heard Raphael Hythloday himselfe (for I was present at that talke as well as master More) utterying and pronouncing his owne woordes: Yea, though the same man, accordinge to his pure eloquence, did so open and declare the matter, that he might plainely enough appeare, to reporte not thinges which

[1] Jerome Busleyden, provost (an ecclesiastical dignity) of Arienn, Canon of Brussels, Mechlin, and Louvain, a generous patron of learning, founder of the Trilingual College at Louvain. For Giles (or Ægidius) see More's letter at p. 12. The present letter to Busleyden was really written by Giles, in order to give verisimilitude to More's narrative. The Catholic king is the famous Emperor Charles V.

[2] *I.e.* "the Republic."

he had learned of others onelye by hearesay, but which he had with his own eyes presently[1] sene, and throughly vewed, and wherin he had no smal time bene conversant and abiding: a man trulie, in mine opinion, as touching the knowledge of regions, peoples, and worldly experience, muche passinge, yea even the very famous and renowmed travailer Ulysses; and in dede suche a one, as for the space of these viij. c. yeres[2] past I think nature into the worlde brought not furth his like: in comparison of whome Vespuce[3] maye be thought to have sene nothing. Moreover, wheras we be wont more effectually and pitthely to declare and expresse thinges that we have sene, then whiche we have but onelye hearde, there was besides that in this man a certen peculiar grace, and singular dexteritie to discrive[4] and set furth a matter withall. Yet the selfe same thinges as ofte as I beholde and consider them drawen and painted oute with master Mores pensille, I am therwith so moved, so delited, so inflamed, and so rapt, that sometime me think I am presently[5] conversaunt, even in the ylande of Utopia. And I promise you, I can skante[6] beleve that Raphael himselfe by al that five yeres space that he was in Utopia abiding, saw there so much, as here in master Mores description is to be sene and perceaved. Whiche description with so manye wonders, and miraculous thinges is replenished, that I stande in great doubt wherat first and chieflie to muse or marveile: whether at the excellencie of his perfect and suer memorie, which could wel niegh worde by woorde rehearse so manye thinges once onely heard: or elles at his singular prudence, who so well and wittyly marked and bare away al the origin-all causes and fountaynes (to the vulgare people

[1] Seen while he was actually present.
[2] Eight hundred years.
[3] Amerigo Vespucci.
[4] Describe.
[5] Actually present (as above).
[6] Scarcely.

commenly most unknowen) wherof both yssueth and springeth the mortall confusion and utter decaye of a commen wealth, and also the avauncement and wealthy state of the same may riese and growe: or elles at the efficacie and pitthe of his woordes, which in so fine a Latin stile, with suche force of eloquence hath couched together[1] and comprised so many and divers matters, speciallie beinge a man continuallie encombred with so manye busye and troublesome cares, both publique, and private, as he is. Howbeit all these thinges cause you litle to marvell (righte honourable Buslid) for that you are familiarly and throughly acquainted with the notable, yea almost divine witte of the man. But nowe to procede to other matters, I suerly know nothing nedeful or requisite to be adjoyned unto his writinges: Onely a meter of iiii. verses written in the Utopian tongue, whiche after master Mores departure Hythloday by chaunce shewed me, that have I caused to be added thereto, with the Alphabete of the same nation, and have also garnished the margent[2] of the boke with certen notes. For, as touchinge the situation of the ylande, that is to saye, in what parte of the worlde Utopia standeth, the ignoraunce and lacke whereof not a litle troubleth and greveth master More, in dede Raphael left not that unspoken of. Howbeit with verie fewe wordes he lightly touched it, incidentlye by the way passing it over, as meanyng of likelihod to kepe and reserve that to an other place. And the same, I wot not how, by a certen evell and unluckie chaunce escaped us bothe. For when Raphael was speaking therof, one of master Mores servauntes came to him and whispered in his eare. Wherefore I beyng then of purpose more earnestly addict to heare,[3] one of the company, by reason of cold taken, I thinke, a

[1] Placed side by side. [2] Margin.
[3] Being doubly anxious to hear (since More's attention was withdrawn).

shippeborde, coughed out so loude, that he toke from my hearinge certen of his wordes. But I wil never stynte, nor rest, until I have gotte the full and exacte knowledge hereof: insomuche that I will be hable perfectly to instructe you, not onely in the longitude or true meridian of the ylande, but also in the just latitude therof, that is to say, in the sublevation[1] or height of the pole in that region, if our frende Hythloday be in safetie, and alive. For we heare very uncerten newes of him. Some reporte, that he died in his jorney homewarde. Some agayne affirme, that he retorned into his countrey, but partly, for that he coulde not away with[2] the fashions of his countrey folk, and partly for that his minde and affection was altogether set and fixed upon Utopia, they say that he hathe taken his voyage thetherwarde agayne. Now as touching this, that the name of this yland is nowhere founde amonge the olde and auncient cosmographers, this doubte Hythloday himselfe verie well dissolved.[3] For why it is possible enoughe (quod he) that the name, whiche it had in olde time, was afterwarde chaunged, or elles that they never had knowledge of this iland: forasmuch as now in our time divers landes be found, which to the olde Geographers were unknowen. Howbeit, what nedeth it in this behalfe to fortifie the matter with arguments, seynge master More is author hereof sufficient? But whereas he doubteth of the edition or imprinting of the booke, in deede herein I both commende, and also knowledge[4] the mannes modestie. Howbeit unto me it semeth a worke most unworthie to be long suppressed, and most worthy to go abrod into the handes of men, yea, and under the title of youre name to be publyshed to the worlde: either because the singular endowmentes and qualities of master More be to no man better knowen then to you, or els bicause no man is

[1] Elevation. [2] Could not endure. [3] Explained away.
[4] Acknowledge, know.

more fitte and meete, then you with good counselles to further, and avaunce the commen wealth, wherin you have many yeares already continued and travailed with great glory and commendation, bothe of wisedome and knowledge, and also of integritie and uprightnes.

Thus, O liberall supporter of good learninge, and floure of this oure time, I byd you moste hartely well to fare.

At Antwerpe 1516. the first daye of November.

A METER OF IIII. VERSES IN THE UTOPIAN TONGUE, BRIEFLY TOUCHINGE AS WELL THE STRAUNGE BEGINNING, AS ALSO THE HAPPIE AND WEALTHIE CONTINUANCE OF THE SAME COMMON WEALTHE.[1]

VTOPOS ha Boccas peula chama polta chamaan.
Bargol he maglomi Baccan soma gymnosophaon.
Agrama gymnosophon labarem bacha bodamilomin.
Voluala barchin heman la lauoluola dramme pagloni.

Whiche verses the translator, accordinge to his simple knowledge, and meane understanding in the Utopian tongue, hath thus rudely englished.

MY kinge and conquerour Utopus by name,
A prince of much renowme and immortall fame.
Hath made me an yle that earst[2] no ylande was,
Ful fraight[3] with worldly welth with pleasure and solas.[4]
I one of all other without philosophie
Have shaped for man a philosophicall citie.
As myne I am nothinge daungerous[5] to imparte,
So better to receave I am readie with al my harte.

[1] All this that follows is part of the machinery, and gives verisimilitude to the fable. The words bear an occasional resemblance to Greek (we are told the Utopians were probably descended from the Greeks), but otherwise the "language" is an invention.

[2] Formerly—*i.e.* he has created an island that was a peninsula.

[3] Fraught. [4] Solace.

[5] As I make no bother about imparting my knowledge.

A SHORTE METER OF UTOPIA, WRITTEN BY ANEMOLIUS[1] POETE LAUREATE, AND NEPHEWE TO HYTHLODAYE BY HIS SISTER.

ME Utopie cleped[2] Antiquitie,
Voyde of haunte and herboroughe,[3]
Nowe am I like to Platoes citie,
Whose fame flieth the wide worlde throughe.
Yea like, or rather more likely
Platoes platte[4] to excell and passe.
For what Platoes penne hathe platted briefely
In naked wordes, as in a glasse,
The same have I perfourmed fully,
With lawes, with men, and treasure fyttely.
Wherfore not Utopie, but rather rightely
My name is Eutopie:[5] a place of felicitie.

GERARDE NOVIOMAGE[6] OF UTOPIA.

DOTH pleasure please? then place the[7] here, and well the[7] rest,
Most pleasaunt pleasures thou shalte finde here.

[1] We have already had "Anemolians"—the windy, boastful people; and More names the Utopian laureate Anemolius, or "windbag," as we might say. Lupton suggests that More was girding at John Skelton, the contemporary laureate, a ready maker of much rough-hewn verse. His "Colin Clout" and "Philip Sparrow" are, however, very readable.

[2] Named. [3] Void of resort and harbourage.

[4] Plot, design. [5] *I.e.* not "No place" but "Good-place."

[6] Gerhard Geldenhauer (called Noviomagus from his native place, Nymegen), was originally a monk, teacher of Philosophy at Louvain, chaplain to the Emperor Charles, and secretary to Bishop Philip of Utrecht. He was a friend of Erasmus. He became a Protestant, went to Germany and was made Professor of Theology at Marburg. He was murdered by robbers in 1542.

[7] Thee, yourself.

Doeth profit ease? then here arrive, this yle is best.
For passinge[1] profettes do here appeare.
Doeth bothe thee tempte, and woldest thou gripe both gaine and pleasure?
This yle is fraight with both bounteously.
To still thy gredie intent, reape here incomparable treasure
Bothe minde and tongue to garnishe richelie.
The hid welles and fountaines both of vice and virtue
Thou hast them here subject unto thine eye.
Be thankful now, and thankes where thankes be due
Geve to Thomas More Londons immortal glorye.

CORNELIUS GRAPHEY[2] TO THE READER.

WILT thou knowe what wonders straunge be in the lande that late was founde?
Wilte thou learne thy life to leade, by divers ways that godly be?
Wilte thou of vertue and of vice, understande the very grounde?
Wilt thou see this wretched world, how full it is of vanitie?
Then read, and marke, and beare in mind, for thy behoufe, as thou maie best.
All thinges that in this present worke, that worthie clerke sir Thomas More,

[1] Surpassing.

[2] Cornelius Grapheus, (1482–1588) became secretary to the city of Antwerp, and joined himself with the Reformers, notably Goch and Probost. During the persecution under the Emperor Charles V., Grapheus was committed to prison in Brussels (1521). He wrote appealing letters begging for release and also a Lament (in Latin verse) describing his prison and his condition. This *Querimonia* was dedicated to Gerhard Geldenhauer, the "Noviomage" mentioned above. He made a recantation and was released (1522). Erasmus had strong affectionate feelings for Grapheus, and left him a legacy.

With witte divine ful learnedly, unto the worlde hath plaine exprest,
In whom London well glory maye, for wisedome and for godly lore.

THE PRINTER TO THE READER.

THE Utopian alphabete, good Reader, whiche in the above written Epistle is promised, hereunto I have not now adjoyned, because I have not as yet the true characters or fourmes of the Utopiane letters. And no marveill, seyng it is a tongue to us muche straunger then the Indian, the Persian, the Syrian, the Arabicke, the Egyptian, the Macedonian, the Sclavonian, the Ciprian, the Scythian etc. Which tongues though they be nothing so straunge among us, as the Utopian is, yet their characters we have not. But I trust, God willing, at the next impression hereof, to perfourme that whiche nowe I can not: that is to saye, to exhibite perfectly unto thee, the Utopian Alphabete. In the meane time accept my good wyl. And so fare well.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON IN PAULES CHURCHE YARDE, AT THE SYGNE OF THE LAMBE, BY ABRAHAM VEALE. M.D.LVI.

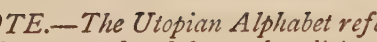
NOTE.—The Utopian Alphabet referred to on page 199 *is here reproduced from the edition of* 1518.

VTOPIENSIVM ALPHABETVM.

a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r ſ t u x y

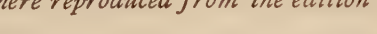
TETRASTICHON VERNACVLA VTOPIENSIVM LINGVA.

Vtopos ha Boccas peula chama



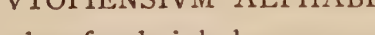
polta chamaan

Bargol he maglomi baccan

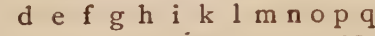


ſoma gymnoſophaon

Agrama gymnoſophon labarem

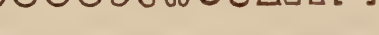


bacha bodamilomin



Voluala barchin heman la

lauoluola dramme pagloni.



THE LYFE OF SIR THOMAS MORE KNIGHTE.

THE LYFE OF SIR THOMAS MORE KNIGHTE, SOMETYME CHAUNCELLOR OF ENGLANDE, WRITTEN BY HIS SONNE-IN-LAWE, WILLIAM ROPER, OF ELTHAM IN THE COUNTYE OF KENTE, ESQUIER.

FORASMUCHE as SIR THOMAS MORE, Knyghte, somtyme Lorde Chauncellor of Englande, a manne of singular vertue and of a cleere unspotted conscience, as witnessethe Erasmus, more pure and white then the whitest snowe, and of suche an Angelicall wytte as Englande, he sayethe, never had the lyke before nor never shall agayne, universally, as well in the lawes of our own Realme, a studdye in effecte able to occupye the whole life of a manne, as in all other sciences right well studyed, was in his dayes accompted a manne worthye perpetuall famous memory, I, WILLIAM ROPER, thoughe moste unworthye, his sonne-in-lawe by mariage of his eldest daughter, knowinge at this daye, noe one manne livinge that of him and his doings understoode soe muche as my selfe, for that I was contynually residente in his house by the space of sixteene yeeres and more, thought it therfore my parte to sett forthe such matters touchinge his life as I could at this present call to remembrance ; amongst which thinges, verye many notable thinges not meete to have beene forgotten, throughe negligence and longe contynuance of tyme are slipped out of my mynde. Yet to the intente the same sholde not utterly perishe, I have at

the desire of diverse worshipfull frendes of myne, thoughe verye farre from the grace and worthynesse of them, neverthelesse as farre forthe as my meane witte, memorye, and knowledge would suffer me, declared soe muche therof as in my poore judgment seemed worthy to be remembred.

This Sir Thomas More,[1] after he hadd bynne broughte uppe in the Latynne tonge at S^t^ Anthonye's in London,[2] was by his fathers procurement receyved into the house of the righte reverent, wise, and learned prelate Cardinall Morton, wher though he was yonge of yeares, yet woulde he at Christmas tyde sodeynly somtymes steppe in amonge the players, and never studying for the matter, make a parte of his owne there presente amongst them, which made the lookers-on more sporte then all the players beside. In whose wytt and *towardnes*[3] the Cardinall much delightinge, woulde often saye of him, unto the nobles that diverse tymes dined with him, This childe here waytinge at the table, whosoever shall lyve to see yt, will prove a marveylous manne. Wherupon, for his better furtheraunce in learninge, he placed him at Oxforde,[4] where when he was bothe in the greeke and latynne tonge sufficientlye instructed, he was then for the studye of the lawe of the Realme put to an Inne of Chancerye called Newe Inne, where for his tyme he verye well prospered ; and from thence was admitted to Lincolnes Inne, with very small allowance, contynuinge there his study, untill he was made and accompted a worthye utter[5] Barrister. After this, to his greate commendacion, he readd for a good space a publicke

[1] He was born, 1478, in Milk Street, Cheapside.

[2] St. Anthony's School in Threadneedle Street, described by Stow as the best school in London.

[3] Forwardness, precocity.

[4] More was at Canterbury Hall, which was afterwards absorbed by Christ Church—the notable foundation of Wolsey.

[5] Complete—we still use "utterly" to mean completely.

lecture of S^t^ Augustyne, De Civitate Dei,[1] in the churche of S^t^ Laurence in the Old Jurye, wherunto resorted Doctor Grosyne,[2] an excellente cunninge manne, and all the chiefe learned of the cittie of London. Then was he made Reader of Furnifalles Inne, soe remayninge the space of three yeeres and more. After which tyme he gave himself to devotion and prayer in the Charterhouse of London, *religiouslye lyvinge ther without vowe*[3] about foure years, untill he resorted unto the house of one Master Colte, a gentleman of Essex, that had oft invited him thither, having three daughters, whose honeste conversation and virtuous education provoked him there specially to sett his affection. And all beit his mynde most served him to the seconde daughter, for that he thoughte her the fayrest and best favoured, yet when he considered that it woulde be bothe greate griefe and some shame alsoe to the eldest to see her yonger sister in mariage preferred before her, he then of a certeyn pittye framed his fancye towardes her, and soone after maryed her,[4] neverthemore discontynuyng his studye of the lawe at Lincolnes Inne, but applyinge still the same, untill he was called to the Benche, and had redd there twice, which is as often as ordinarillye any Judge of the lawe dothe reade.

Before which tyme he had placed himselfe and his wyfe at Bucklersbury in London, where he had by her three daughters[5] and one sonne, in virtue and

[1] A worthy beginning for the author of "Utopia," Augustine's "City of God" describes a new Christian world springing out of the ashes of the Roman Empire.

[2] Grocyn had visited Italy and caught the infection of the classical revival. He sat under Politian, and studied Greek with Demetrius Chalcondylas, one of the refugees from fallen Constantinople. Grocyn returned to Oxford and was one of the first teachers of Greek in England. He was rector of St. Lawrence's.

[3] *I.e.* Living there under monastic rules, though without taking the vows.

[4] 1505.

[5] The eldest being Margaret, of immortal memory. She married the writer of this little memoir.

learnynge broughte uppe from their youthe, whome he would often exhorte to take virtue and learninge for their meate, and playe for their sause. Whoe, ere ever he had bynne reader in courte, was in the latter tyme of Kinge Henrye the seventhe made a Burgesse of the Parliament, wherein there were by the Kinge demanded, as I have hearde reported, about three fifteenes[1] for the mariage of his eldest daughter, that then shold be the Scottishe Queene.[2] At the laste debatinge wherof he made suche argumentes and reasons theragaynste, that the Kinges demands therby were cleane overthrowen ; soe that one of the Kinges pryvie chamber named Maister Tiler, beinge present therat, broughte worde to the Kinge out of the Parliament House that a beardlesse boye had disappoynted all his purpose. Wheruppon the Kinge conceyvinge greate indignation towardes him, colde not be satisfied until he had some waye revendged yt. And for as muche as he nothinge havinge nothinge cold loose, his grace devised a causeles quarrell agaynst his father,[3] kepeinge him in the Tower untill he made him paye to him one hundred pounds fyne. Shortely heruppon yt fortuned that this Sir Thomas More comminge in a suite to Doctor Foxe, Bishoppe of Wynchester, one of the Kinges Pryvie Councell, the Bishoppe called him asyde, and pretendinge great favoure towardes him, promised him that yf he woulde be ruled by him, he woulde not fayle into the Kings favoure agayne to restore him ; meaninge, as yt was afterwards conjectured, to cause him therby to confesse his offence agaynste the Kinge, wherby his highnes mighte with the better cooller[4] have occasion to revenge his displeasure agaynst him. But when he came from the Bishoppe, he fell in communication with one

[1] A subsidy of three-fifteenths would bring about £10,000—equivalent in modern purchasing value to £12,000,000.

[2] Margaret, who became the wife of James IV.

[3] His father Sir John More, was a Justice of the King's Bench.

[4] With better excuse.

Maister Whitforde, his familiar freinde, then chapleyne to that Bishoppe, and after a Father of Sion,[1] and shewed him what the Bishoppe had sayed unto him, desiring to have his advise therin; who, for the Passion of God, prayed him in no wise to followe his councell; For my Lord, my master, quothe he, to serve the Kinges turne, will not sticke to agree to his owne fathers deathe. Soe Sir Thomas More returned to the Bishoppe noe more; and had not the Kinge soone after dyed,[2] he was determined to have gone over the sea, thinkinge that beinge in the Kinges indignacion, he coulde not live in England without great danger.

After this he was made one of the Under-sheriffes of London, by which office and his learninge togeather, as I have harde him saye, he gayned without greife[3] not soe little as fowre hundred pounds by the yere; sithe ther was at that tyme in none of the Kinges courtes of the lawes of this realme, any matter of importance in controversye, wherin he was not withe the one partye of councell.[4] Of whome, for his learning, wisdome, knowledge, and experience, men had such estimacion, that before he came to the service of Kinge Henrye the Eyghte, at the suite and instance of the Englishe merchantes, he was by the Kinges consente, made twice Embassadour in certeyne greate causes betwene them and the merchants of the Stilliarde.[5] Whose wyse and discreete dealinge therin,

[1] The famous Brigittine monastery on the Thames near Isleworth, between Kew and Richmond.

[2] 1509.

[3] Easily, without trouble.

[4] *I.e.* he was always engaged in important cases, as counsel for one side or the other.

[5] A great deal of the English import trade had for many years been in the hands of merchants of the Hanse, a league of the great North German trading cities. Their wharf and office (called the Steelyard) was on the Thames near the present Cannon Street station. The "English Merchants" were the "Merchant Adventurers," a company founded in Henry IV.'s time. In 1505 this company gained additional

to his highe commendacion, comminge to the Kinges understandinge, provoked his highnes to cause Cardinall Wolsey, then Lord Chauncellor, to procure him to his service. And albeit the Cardinall, accordinge to the Kinges requeste, ernestlye travaled with him therfore, amongst many other his perswations alleadginge unto him howe dere his service must needes be unto his majestie, which coulde not, withe his honor, with lesse then he shoulde yerly loose therby, seeme to recompence him; yet he, lothe to change his estate, made suche meanes unto the Kinge by the Cardinall to the contrary, that his grace for that tyme was well satisfied. Nowe hapened ther after this, a great shippe of his that was then Pope[1] to arrive at Southampton, which the Kinge clayminge for a forfeiture, the Popes Embassadour,[2] by suite unto his grace, obteyned that he might for his Maister the Pope have councell learned and wise in the lawes of this realme; and the matter in his owne presence, beinge himselfe a singuler civilian,[3] in some publike place to be openly harde and discussed. Att which tyme ther coulde none in oure lawe be founde soe meete to be of councell with this Embassadour as Sir Thomas More, who could reporte unto that Embassadour in Latine all the reasons and arguments by the learned councell on both sides alleadged. Upon this the councellors of eyther parte, in presence of the Lord Chauncellour and other the Judges in the Starre Chamber had audience accordingly; where Sir Thomas More not only declared to the Embassadour the whole effecte of all their opinions, but alsoe, in defence of the Popes side, argued soe

privileges of trade. More's first embassy in their cause was to Flanders in 1515. He visited the great Flemish cities, Brussels, Bruges, and Antwerp. At the last named he met Peter Giles or Ægidius, one of the listeners to Hythloday's recital. Antwerp itself is the scene of the conversation.

[1] Leo X.

[2] The Legate was Cardinal Campeggio.

[3] *I.e.* learned in civil law.

learnedly himselfe, that bothe was the aforesaid forfeiture to the Pope restored, and himselfe amongst all the hearers for his uprighte and commendable demenour therin soe greatlye renowned, that for noe intreaty woulde the Kinge from thenceforthe be induced any longer to forbare his service. Att whose first entry therunto, he made him Master of the Requestes,[1] having then no better roome voyde, and within a month after, Knighte, and one of his Pryvie Councell.

And soe from tyme to tyme was he by the Prince advanced, contynuinge in his singular favour and trusty service twentye yeres and above; a good part wherof used the Kinge upon Holy Dayes, when he had done his owne devotions, to sende for him into his traverse,[2] and there somtymes in matters of Astronomye, Geometry, Divinity, and suche other facultyes, and sometymes of his worldlye affayres, to sitt and conferre with him. And other whiles woulde he in the nighte have him uppe into his leades,[3] there to consider with him the diversities, courses, motions and other operations of the Starres and Plannetts. And because he was of a plesante disposition, yt pleased the Kinge and Queene, after the Councell had supped, at the tyme of their supper, for their pleasure commonly to call for him to be merrye with them. Whome when he percyved soe muche in his talke to delighte, that he could not once in a month gett leave to goe home to his wife and children, whose company he most desired, and to be absente from the courte two dayes togeather but that he should be thither sent for agayne: he much misliking this distraynte of libertie, beganne therupon somwhat to dissemble his nature, and soe little by little from his accustomed mirthe to disuse himself, that he was of them from thencforthe at such

[1] 1514. [2] A place shut off by a "traverse," or screen.
[3] On the leads, or roof.

seasons noe more so ordinarilye sent for. Then dyed one Maister Weston, Treasurer of the Exchequer, whose office, after his deathe, the Kinge of his owne offer, without any askinge, freely gave unto Sir Thomas More.[1]

In the xiiij[the] yere of his graces raygne was there a Parliament holden, wherof Sir Thomas More was chosen Speaker; who, beinge verye loathe to take that roome upon him, made an oration, not nowe extante, to the Kinges highnes for his dischardge therof. Wherunto, when the Kinge would not consente, he spake unto his grace in forme followinge: Sithe I perceyve, most redoubted sovereygne, that yt standeth not with your high pleasure to reforme this ellection and cause yt to be changed, but have by the mouthe of the most Reverend Father in God the Legate, your Highnes Chauncellour,[2] therunto given your most royall assente, and have of your benignity determined, farre above that I maye beare, to enhable me, and for this office to repute me meete; rather then ye shoulde seme to impute to your Commons that they had unmetlye chosen, I am therfore, and alwayes shalbe, redye obedientlye to conforme my selfe to the accomplishment of your highe commandement; in moste humble wyse beseechinge your most noble majestie that I may, withe your graces favour, before I further enter therunto, make myne humble intercession unto your highnes for two lowlye petitions, the tone pryvatly concerninge my selfe, the other, the whole assemblye of your Common House. For my selfe, gratious sovereygne, that yf yt misshappen me in any thinge herafter that is on the behalfe of your Commons in your highnes presence to be declared, to mistake my message, and in the lacke of good utterance, by my misrehersall to perverte or impayre their prudente instructions, yt may then like your noble majestie, of your aboundante

[1] 1521. [2] Wolsey was now Legate and Chancellor.

grace, with the eye of your accustomed pittye to pardone my simplenes, givinge me leave to repayre agayne to the Common House, and there to conferre with them, and to take their substanciall advise what thinge and in what wise I shall one theire behalfe utter and speake before your noble grace, to the intente their prudente devises and affayres be not by my simplenes and follye hindered or impayred. Which thynge, yf it should soe mishappe, as it weare well likelye to mishapp in me, yf your gratious benignitye releeved not mine oversighte, yt coulde not fayle to be duringe my life a perpetuall grudge and heavines to my harte. The helpe and remedy wherof in manner aforesayed remembred is, most gratious soveraygne, my firste lowly suite and humble petition to your most noble grace. Myne other humble requeste, most excellent prince, is this: Forasmuche as there be of the Commons here by your high commandment assembled for your Parliament, a greate nomber which are, after the accustomed manner, appoynted in the Common House to treate and advise of the common affayres amongest themselves aparte; and albeit, most deere leige lord, that accordinge to your prudente advise, by your honorable writtes everye where declared, there hath beene as due diligence used in sendinge up to your highnes courte of parliament the most discreete persons out of everye quarter that menne could esteeme meete therto; wherby yt is not to be doubted but that ther is a substanciall assemblye of right wise, and politicke persons; yet, moste victorious prince, sithe amonge soe many wise menne, neither is every man wise alike, nor among soe many men like well witted is every man like well spoken, and it often happenethe that likewise as muche follye is uttered with paynted polished speeche, soe many, boysterous and rude in language, see deepe indeede, and give righte substanciall councell; and sithe also in matters of great

importance, the mynde is often soe occupyed in this matter, that a man rather studiethe what to saye, then howe; by reasone wherof the wisest man and best spoken in a whole countrye fortunethe, while his mynde is fervent in the matter, somewhat to speake in such wise as he would afterwardes wishe to have beene uttered otherwise, and yet noe worse will had when he spoke it, then he hathe when he would soe gladly change it. Therfore, most gratious Soveraygne, consideringe that in your high courte of Parliament is nothing intreated but matter of weyghte and importance concerning your Realme and your owne Royall Estate, yt could not faile to lett and put to silence from the givinge of their advise and councell many of your discreete Commons, to the greate hinderance of the common affayres, excepte that everye one of your Commons were utterly dischardged of all doubtes and feare howe any thinge that it should happen them to speake, should happen of your highnes to be taken. And in this poynte, thoughe your well knowen and proved benignitye puteth everye man in right good hoope, yet such is the weight of the matter, such is the reverend dread that the tymerous hartes of your naturall subjects conceyve towardes your highe majestie, our most redoubted kinge and undoubted sovereygne, that they cannot in this poynte fynde themselves satisfied, excepte your gratious bounty therin declared put awaye the scruple of their tymerous myndes, and animate and incourage them and put them out of doubte. Yt may therfore like your most aboundante grace, our most benigne and godly Kinge, to give all your Commons here assembled your most gratious lycence and pardon, freely witheout doubte of your dredfull displeasure, everye man to dischardge his conscience, and boldly in every thinge incidente amongst us, to declare his advise; and what soever happen any man to say, that yt maye like your

majestie of your inestimable goodnes to take all in good parte, interpretinge everye mans wordes, howe unconningly[1] soever they be couched, to proceede yet of good zeale towardes the profitt of your realme, and honor of your Royall personne, the prosperous estate and preservacion wherof, most excellent sovereygne, is the thing which we all, your most humble loving subjects, accordinge to the most bounden dewtye of our naturall alleageance, moste highly desire and praye for.

Att this parliament Cardinall Wolsey founde himselfe much grieved with the Burgesses therof, for that nothinge was soe soone donne or spoken therin, but that yt was immediately blowen abroade in everye alehouse. Yt fortuned at that Parliament a verye greate subsedye to be demanded, which the Cardinall fearinge would not pass the Common House, determined for the furtherance therof to be there personallye presente himselfe. Before whose comminge, after longe debateinge there, whether it were better but with a few of his lordes, as the most opinion of the House was, or with his whole trayne royally to receyve him there amongst them: Maisters, quothe Sir Thomas More, forasmuch as my Lord Cardinall lately, ye wott well, layed to our chardge the lightnes of our tonges for thinges uttered out of this House, it shall not in my mynde be amisse with all his pompe to receyve him, with his maces, his pillars, his pollaxes, his crosses, his hatt and Greate Seale too;[2] to thentente yf he fynde the like falte with us herafter, we maye be the boulder from ourselves to lay the

[1] Unlearnedly, ignorantly.

[2] Wolsey's love of pomp was characteristic. Compare the stage direction, *Henry VIII.*, Act. ii. Sc. 4: "follows a Gentleman bearing the Purse with the Great Seal, and a Cardinal's Hat; then two Priests bearing each a Silver Cross; then a Gentleman-usher, bareheaded, accompanied with a Sergeant-at-arms, bearing a Silver Mace: then two Gentlemen, bearing two great Silver Pillars; after them, side by side, the two Cardinals.

blame upon those that his grace bringethe hether with him. Wherunto the house wholly agreeynge, he was receyved accordinglye. Where after that he had in a solempne oration by many reasons proved how necessary yt was the demand ther moved to be granted, and further shewed that lesse woulde not serve to mayntayne the princes purpose, he seeinge the companye sitting still sylent and therunto nothinge answeringe, and contrarye to his expectation shewinge in themselves towardes his requestes no towardnes of inclinacion, sayed unto them: Maisters you have many wise and learned men amongst you, and sithe I am from the Kinges owne person sente hether unto you for the preservation of your selves and all the realme, I thinke yt meete you give me some resonable answere. Wherat everye man holdinge his peace, then beganne he to speake to one Maister Marney, after Lord Marney, Howe say you, quothe he, M^r^ Marney? Whoe making him no answere neyther, he severallye asked the same question of diverse others accompted the wisest of the companye. To whome, when none of them all would give soe much as one worde, beinge before agreed, as the custom was, by their Speaker to make answere, Maisters, quothe the Cardinall, unlesse it be the manner of your House, as of likli-hoode yt is, by the mouthe of your Speaker whome ye have chosen for trusty and wise, as indeede he is, in such cases to utter your myndes, here is without doubte a marveylous obstinate sylence. And therupon he required answere of Maister Speaker, who first reverentlye upon his knees excusinge the sylence of the House, abashed at the presence of so noble a personage able to amaze the wisest and best learned in a realme, and after by many probable arguments proveinge that for them to make answere was it neyther expedient nor agreable with the ancient libertye of the House, in conclusion for himselfe shewed, that thoughe they had all with their voyces trusted

him, yet excepte every one of them coulde put into his one head all their severall wittes, he alone in so weyghtye a matter was unmete to make his grace answere. Wheruppon the Cardinall, displeased with Sir Thomas More, that had not in this Parliament in all things satisfied his desire, sodeynly arose and departed. And after the Parliament ended, in his gallery at Whitehall in Westminster uttered unto him his griefes, saying: Woulde to God you had been at Rome, M^r^ More, when I made you Speaker. Your grace not offended, so would I too, my lord, quothe he. And to winde such quarrells out of the Cardinalls heade he beganne to talk of that gallerye, and sayed, I like this gallerye of yours, my lord, much better then your gallerye at Hampton Courte. Wherwith soe wislye brake he off the Cardinalls displeasant talk, that the Cardinall at that present, as yt seemed, wiste not what more to say to him; but for revengment of his displeasure, councelled the Kinge to sende him Embassadour into Spayne, commendinge unto his highnes his wisdome, learninge, and meetnes for that voyage. And the difficulty of that cause considered, none was there, he sayed, so well able to serve his grace therin. Which when the Kinge had broken to Sir Thomas More, and that he had declared unto his grace howe unfitt a journey it was for him, the nature of the country and disposition of his complexion[1] soe disagreeinge togeather, that he should never be liklye to doe his grace acceptable service there, knowinge right well that yf his grace sente him thither he should send him to his grave; but shewinge himselfe neverthelesse readye according to his dewty, all were yt with the losse of his life, to fulfill his graces pleasure in that behalfe, the Kinge, allowinge well his answere, sayd unto him: It is not our meaning, Maister More, to doe you hurte; but to doe you good would wee be gladd. Wee will, therfore, for this

[1] General character of body.

purpose devise uppon some other, and imploy your service other wise. And such entyre favour did the king bere hym, that he made him Channcellor of the Duchye of Lancaster upon the deathe of Sir Richard Wingfeild who had that office before.[1] And for the pleasure he took in his company, would his grace sodeynly sometymes comme home to his house at Chelsey to be merrye with him. Whyther, one a tyme, unlooked for he came to dynner to him, and after dinner, in a fayre garden of his, walked with him by the space of an howre, holdinge his arme about his necke. As soone as his grace was gonne, I rejoycinge therat, tould Sir Thomas More howe happye he was whome the Kinge had so familiarlye enterteyned, as I never had seene him doe to any other excepte Cardinall Wolsey, whome I saw his grace once walke withe arme in arme. I thanke our Lord, sonne, quothe he, I fynde his grace my verye good lord indeede; and I doe beleeve he dothe as singulerly favour me as any subjecte in this realme. Howbeyt, sonne Roper, I may tell thee I have noe cause to be proude therof, for if my heade could wynne him a castell in France, for then was the warre betweene us,[2] yt should not fayle to goe.

This Sir Thomas More, amongst all other his virtues, was of suche meeknesse, that yf it had fortuned him withe any learned men resorting to him from Oxford, Cambridge, or ellswhere, as ther did divers, some for the desire of his acquaintance, some for the famous reporte of his wisdome and learninge, and some for suites of the Universities, to have entered into argument, wherin fewe were comparable to him, and soe farre to have discoursed with them therin, that he mighte perceyve they could not without some inconvenience hold out much farther

[1] 1525.

[2] Henry, in alliance with the Emperor Charles V., had declared war against France in 1522.

disputation against him, then, lest he should discomforte them, as he that sought not his owne glorye, but rather would seeme conquered then to discourage studientes in their studyes, ever shewinge himselfe more disirous to learne then to teache, would he by some wittye devise courteously breake off into some other matter and give over. Of whome, for his wisdome and learninge, had the Kinge such an opinion, that at such tyme as he attended upon his highnes takinge his progresse eyther to Oxford or Cambridge, wher he was receyved with very eloquent orations, his grace would alwayes assigne him, as one that was prompte and readye therin, ex tempore to make answere therto. Whose manner was, whensoever he had occasion, eyther here or beyond the sea, to be in any universitie, not only to be presente at the readinge and disputations there commonly used, but alsoe learnedly to dispute amonge them himselfe. Who being Chauncellour of the Duchye was made Embassadour twice, joyned in commission with Cardinall Wolsey; once to the Emperour Charles into Flanders, the other tyme to the Ffrenshe kinge into France.

Not longe after this the Water Bayley of London, somtyme his servante, heringe, where he had beene at a dinner, certayne merchantes liberally to rayle agaynste his old master, waxed soe discontented ther with, that he hastily ranne to him, and told him what he had hard. And were I, Sir, quothe he, in such favour and auctoryty with my prince as you are, such men surely should not be suffered so villanously and falsly to misreporte and slander me. Wherfore I would wishe you to call them before you, and to their shame for their lewde malice to punishe them. Who smilinge uppon him said, Why, Maister Water Bayley, would you have me punishe those by whome I receyve more benifitt then by you all that be my freindes? Lett them, a Godds name, speake as

lewdlye[1] as they lyste of me, and shote never soe manye arrowes at me, as longe as they doe not hitte me, what am I the worse? But yf they should once hitte me, then would it indeed not a litle trouble me. Howbeit I truste by Godds helpe there shall none of them all once be able to touche me. I have more cause, I assure thee, Maister Water Bayley, to pitye them then to be angrye withe them. Such fruitfull communications had he oftetimes with his familiar frendes.

Soe one a tyme walking withe me alonge the Temes side at Chelsey, in talking of other thinges he sayed unto me, Nowe would to our Lord, sonne Roper, upon condition that three thinges were well established in Christendom, I were put in a sacke and here presently cast into the Temes. What great things be those, Sir, quothe I, that should move you soe to wishe? Wouldest thou knowe what they be, Sonne Roper, quothe he? Yea, marrye, with good will, Sir, quothe I, yf yt please you. In faythe, Sonne, they be these, said he. The firste is, whereas the most part of Christian princes be at mortall warre, they were all at universal peace. The seconde is, that where the Churche of Christe is at this presente sore afflicted with many errours and heresies, it were settled in a perfecte uniformitye of religion. The thirde, that where the Kinges matter of his mariage is now come in question, it were to the glory of God and quiet of all partyes brought to a good conclusion. Wherby as I could gather, he judged that otherwise yt would be a disturbance to a greate parte of Christendome. Thus did it, by his doings throughout the whole course of his life appeare, that all his travayle and paynes, without respecte of erthly commodities, eyther to himself or any of his, were onely upon the service of God, the prince, and the Realme, wholly bestowed and imployed; whome I

[1] Ignorantly.

harde in his latter tyme to saye that he never asked the King for himself the valewe of one penny.

As Sir Thomas More's custome was daylye yf he were at home, besides his private prayers withe his children, to say the Seaven Psalmes,[1] the Latenye and suffrages followinge, soe was yt his guise[2] nightly before he went to bedd, with his wife and children and houshold, to goe to his chappell, and there upon his knees ordinarily to say certayne psalmes and collects withe them. And because he was desirous for godly purposes somtyme to be solitarye and sequester hymselfe from worldly company, a good distance from his mansion house builded he a place called the Newe Buildinge, wherin was a chappell, a librarye, and a gallery, in which as his use was upon other dayes to occupye himselfe in prayer and studye togeather, soe one the Frydaye there usually continued he from morninge to eveninge, spending his tyme only in devoute prayers and spiritual exercises. And to provoke his wife and children to the desire of heavenly thinges, he would somtyme use these wordes unto them: It is nowe noe maistrye[3] for you chyldern to goe to heaven, for everybodye givethe you good councell, everybody gyvethe you good ensample. You see virtue rewarded and vice punished, soe that you are carried upe to heaven even by the chinns.[4] But yf you live the tyme that noe man will give you good councell, nor no man give you good ensample, when you shall see virtue punished and vice rewarded, if you will then stand faste and firmely sticke to Godd, upon payne of my life, thoughe you be but halfe good, God will allowe you for wholle good. If his wife or any of his children had beene diseased or troubled, he would saye unto them, We maye not

[1] The Penitential Psalms—Nos. 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143.
[2] Manner, custom.
[3] No merit, it implies no skill.
[4] *I.e.* lightly, easily.

looke at our own pleasure to goe to heaven in feather-bedds; that is not the way; for our Lord himselfe went thither with greate payne and by many tribulacions, which was the pathe where he walked thither, for the servant may not looke to be in better case then his master. And as he would in this sorte persuade them to take their troubles patiently, soe would he in like sorte teache them to withstand the devill and his temptations valientlye, saying: Whosoever will marke the Devill and his temptations, shall fynd him therin much like to an ape;[1] for like as an ape, not well looked unto, wilbe busye and boulde to doe shrewd turnes,[2] and contrarywise being spyed will sodeynly leape backe and adventure noe further; soe the devill, fyndinge a man idle, slothefull, and without resistance redye to receyve his temptations, waxeth soe hardy that he will not fayle still to continue withe him untill to his purpose he hath throughly broughte him. But one the other side, yf he see a man with diliegence persevere to prevente and withstand his temptations, he waxethe soe wearye, that in conclusion he utterly forsakethe him. For as the devill of disposition is a spirite of soe high a pride that he cannot abide to be mocked, soe is he of nature soe envious that he feareth any more to assaulte him, lest he should therby not only catche a foulle fall himselfe, but alsoe minister unto the man more matter of merritt.

Thus delighted he evermore not only in virtuous exercises to be occupied himselfe, but alsoe to exhorte his wife and children and houshoulde to embrace and followe that same. To whome for his notable virtue and godlynes, God showed, as it seemed, a manifest miraculous token of his speciall favour towardes him, at such tyme as my wife, as many other that yere were, was sicke of the sweatinge

[1] Another reminiscence of More's pet monkey.
[2] Mischievous tricks.

sicknes.[1] Who lyinge in so greate extremitie of that disease as by noe invention or devises that phisitions in such cases commonly use, of whome she had diverse bothe experte and wise and well learned continually attendant about her, she coulde be kepte from sleepe, soe that bothe phisitions and all other there dispayred of her recoverye and gave her over, her father, as he that most intyerly tendred her, beinge in noe small hevines for her, by prayer at Godds hand sought to gett her remedye. Wherupon goinge uppe after his usuall manner into his aforesayd New Building, there in his chappell upon his knees with teares most devoutly besoughte Almightye Godd that it would like his goodnes, unto whome nothinge was impossible, if it were hys blessed will, at his mediacion to vouchsafe gratiouslye to heare his humble petition. Wher incontinente came yt into his mynd that a glister[2] should be the only way to helpe her. Which, when he had toulde the phisitions, they by and by[3] confessed that if ther were any hoope of helthe, that it was the very best helpe indeede; much marveyleing of themselves that they had not before remembred yt. Then was yt immediately ministred unto her sleepinge which could by noe meanes have beene broughte unto wakinge. And albeit after that she was therby thoroughly awaked, Gods markes,[4] an evident undoubted token of deathe, playnly appered upon her, yet she, contrary to all theire expectations, was, as it was thought, by her fathers fervent prayer miraculously recovered, and at length agayne to her perfecte helth restored. Whom if it had pleased God at that time to have taken to his mercye, her father sayed he would never have medled withe worldly matters after.

[1] The sweating sickness was an epidemic that raged several times in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Its symptoms seem to have been those of violent influenza.

[2] A clyster.

[3] Immediately.

[4] The signs of death in any disease, especially in plagues.

Nowe while Sir Thomas More was Chauncellor of the Duchye, the Sea of Roome[1] chanced to be voyde; which was cause of muche trouble. For Cardinall Wolsey, a manne very ambycious, and disierous, as good hoope and liklihoode he had, to aspire unto that dignitie, perceyving himselfe of his expectation disappoynted, by meanes of the Emperour Charles soe highly commendinge one Cardinall Adrian, somtyme his scholemaster, to the Cardinalls of Roome in the tyme of their ellection, for his virtue and worthines, that theruponne was he chosen Poope. Who from Spayne, where he was then residente, comminge on foote to Roome, before his entrye into that cittye did put of his hosen and shoes, barefoote and barelegged passinge throughe the streetes unto his Pallace, with such humblenes that all the people had him in great reverence; Cardinall Wolsey, I say, waxed soe woode[2] therwithe, that he studied to invent all wayes of revendgment of his griefes agaynst the Emperoure; which, as it was the beginninge of a lamentable tragedye, soe some parte of it, as not impertinent to my present purpose, I rekoned requisite here to put in remembrance. The Cardinall therfor, not ignorante of the Kinges unconstant and mutable disposition, soone inclined to withdrawe his devocion from his own most noble, virtuous, and lawfull wife Queene Katheryne, Aunte to the Emperour,[3] upon every lighte occasion; and upon other, to her in

[1] Pronounced in Tudor times as it is here spelt. See, for instance, *Julius Cæsar*, Act. i. Sc. 2:

> When could they say till now, that talked of Rome,
> That her wide walls encompassed but one man?
> Now is it Rome indeed, and room enough,
> When there is in it but one only man.

[2] Grew so angry. So, in the *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Demetrius says he is "wood within this wood," because he cannot find Hernia.

[3] Catherine's sister Joanna was the wife of Philip I. of Spain, and mother of Charles V.

nobylitie, wisdome, virtue, favour, and bewtye farre incomparable,[1] to fix his affection ; meaning to make this his soe lighte disposition an instrument to bringe aboute his ungodly intente, devised to allure the Kinge, then alreadye, contrarye to his mynde, nothinge lesse lookinge for, falling in love withe the Ladye Anne Bulleyne, to cast fantasy to one of the French kings sisters.[2] Which thinge, because of the enmytie and warre that was at that tyme betweene the French kinge and the Emperour, whome for the cause before remembred, he mortallye maligned,[3] he was verye desierous to procure. And for the better acheeving therof, requested Langland, Bishoppe of Lincolne, and ghostly father to the Kinge,[4] to put a scruple into his graces heade, that it was not lawfull for him to marrye his brothers wife. Which the Kinge not sorye to heare of, opened it firste to Sir Thomas More, whose councell he required therin, shewinge him certeyne places of Scripture that somwhat seemed to serve his appetite. Which when he had perused, and therupon, as one that had never professed the studye of divinitie, himselfe excused to be unmeete many wayes to medle with such matters. The kinge, not satisfied with his aunswere, soe sore still pressed upon him therfore, that in conclusion he condescended to his graces motion ; and further, for as muche as the case was of such importance as needed good advisment and deliberacion, he besoughte his grace of sufficient respitte advisedly to consider of it. Wherwith the Kinge, well contented, sayed unto him, that Tunstall and Clarke, Bishoppes of Durham and Bathe, with other learned of his Privye Councell, should

[1] In the sense of "far beneath."

[2] An obscure sentence, the drift of which is this: The Cardinal devised to allure Henry to take a fancy to the French king's sister; but Henry was already falling in love with Anne Boleyn, contrary to the wishes of the Cardinal, who little expected such a thing.

[3] *I.e.* because the Emperor had not secured his election as Pope.

[4] The King's confessor.

alsoe be dealers therin. Soe Sir Thomas More departinge, conferred[1] those places of the Scripture with the exposicion of divers of the old holy doctors. And at his comminge to the courte in talkinge with his grace of the aforesayed matter, he sayed, To be playne with your grace, neyther my Lord of Durham nor my Lord of Bathe, thoughe I knowe them bothe to be wise, virtuous, learned and honourable prelates, nor my selfe with the rest of your councell, beinge all your graces owne servantes, for your manifold benefitts dayly bestowed upon us soe most bounden unto you, be in my judgment meete councellors for your grace herin. But yf your grace mynde to understande the truthe, suche councellors may you have devised, as neyther for respecte of their owne worldly comodytye, nor for feare of your princely auctority, wilbe inclyned to deceyve you. To whome he named S^t^ Hierom, S^t^ Augustyne, and divers other old holye doctors bothe greekes and latynes; and moreover showed him what auctorities he had gathered out of them. Which althoughe the Kinge, as disagreable with his desire, did not very well like of, yet were they by Sir Thomas More, who in all his communication with Kinge in that matter had alwayes most discreetly behaved himselfe, soe wisely tempered, that he both presently took them in good parte, and often tyme had therof conferrance withe him agayne.

After this weare there certayne questions amongst his councell proponed, whether the Kinge needed in this case to have any scruple at all; and yf he had, what waye were best to be taken to deliver him of yt. The most part of them were of opinion that there was good cause of scruple, and that for dischardge of yt, suite were mete to be made to the Sea of Roome, where the Kinge hoped by liberallytie to obteyne his purpose: wherein, as it after appeared, he was farre deceyved.

[1] Compared—from the Latin *confero*: we still use "*cf.*" as the abbreviation for "compare."

Then was ther for the tryall and examinacion of this matrimonye procured from Roome a commission, in which Cardinall Campeius and Cardinall Wolsey were joyned commissioners; whoe for the determination therof satt at the Blacke Friers in London, where a libell[1] was put in for the adnulling of the saied matrimonye, alleadging the mariage betwene the Kinge and Queene to be unlawfull. And for proofe of the mariage to be lawfull was there broughte in a dispensation, in which after divers disputations therupon holden, there apeered an imperfection; which, by an instrument or breife, upon searche found in the Treasury of Spayne and sent to the commissioners into Englande, was supplied. And soe should judgment have beene given by the Poope accordinglye, had not the Kinge upon intelligence therof, before the sayd judgment, appealed to the next generall councell; after whose appealacion the Cardinalls upon that matter satt noe longer.

It fortuned, before the matter of the sayd matrimonye broughte in question, when in talke with Sir Thomas More, of a certayne joye I commended to him the happy state of the realme that had so Catholicke a prince, that noe hereticke durst showe his face; soe virtuous and learned a clargye, so grave and sounde nobilitie, and so lovinge and obedient subjectes, all in one faythe agreeing togeather. Trothe it is indeede, Sonne Roper, quothe he; and in commending all degrees and estates of the same, wente farre beyonde me; and yet, sonne Roper, I praye God, sayethe he, that some of us, as highe as we seeme to sytt upon the mountaynes tredinge heretickes under our feete like annts, live not the day that we gladly would wishe to be at a league and composition with them to let them have their churches quietlye to themselves, soe that they wolde be contented to let us have ours quietly to

[1] A statement—not, of course, used in its modern sense.

ourselves. After that I had tould him many consideracions why he had noe cause soe to saye, Well, sayed he, I praye God, Sonne Roper, some of us live not till that daye; shewinge noe one reasone why he should putt any doubt therin. To whome I sayed, By my trothe, Sir, it is verye desperatly spoken. That vilde terme, I crye God hartelye mercye, did I give him. Who, by these wordes perceyving me in a fume, saied meryly unto me, Well, well, Sonne Roper, yt shall not be soe, yt shall not be soe, yt shall not be soe. Whome in sixteene yeres and more, beinge in his house conversant with him, I could never perceyve as much as once in a fume.

But nowe to returne agayne where I lefte. After the supplyinge of the imperfections of the dispensation, sente as is before rehersed to the commissioners into England, the Kinge, takinge the matter for ended, and meaning no further to proceede in that matter, assigned the Bishopp of Durham and Sir Thomas More to goe Embassadours to Cambraye, a place neyther Emperiall nor Frenche,[1] to treate a peace between the Emperour, the Frenche kinge, and him. In the concluding wherof Sir Thomas More soe worthilye handled himself, procuring in our League farr moore benefitts unto this Realme, then at that tyme by the Kinge or his Councell was thoughte possible to be compassed, that for his good service in that voyage, the Kinge, when he after made him Lord Chauncellour, caused the Duke of Norfolke openlye to declare to the people, as you shall here herafter more at lardge, how muche all England was bound to him. Nowe upon the comminge home of the Bishoppe of Durham and Sir Thomas More from Cambraye, the Kinge was as ernest in perswading Sir Thomas More to agree unto the matter of his mariage as before, by many and divers wayes provoking him therto, for the which

[1] *I.e.* on neutral ground. Cambray was in Flanders.

cause, as it was thoughte, he the rather soone after made him Lorde Chauncellor, and further declaring unto him, that thoughe at his going over the sea to Cambraye he was in utter dispayre therof, yet he had conceyved since some good hope to compasse yt. For albeit his mariage, being againste the positive lawes of the Churche and the written lawes of God, was holpen by the dispensation, yet was there an other thinge found out of late, he sayed, wherby his mariage appered to be so directlye against the lawe of nature, that it could in noe wise be by the Churche dispensable, as Doctor Stokesley, whome he had then preferred to be Bishoppe of London, and in that case chieflye credited, was able to instructe him, with whom he prayed him in that poynte to conferre. But for all his conferrance with him, he sawe nothinge of suche force as could induce him to change his opinion therin. Which notwithstanding, the Bishoppe showed himselfe in his reporte of him to the Kinges highnes soe good and favorable, that he sayed he found him in his graces cause very towarde, and desierous to fynde out some good matter wherwithe he might truly serve his grace to his contentation. This Bishoppe Stokesley, beinge by the Cardinall not longe before in the Starre Chamber openly put to rebuke and awarded to the Fleete, not brooking this contumelious usage, and thinkinge that forasmuche as the Cardinall, for lacke of such forwardness in settinge forthe the Kinges divorce as his grace looked for, was out of his highnes favour, he had now a good occasion offred him to revenge his quarrell agaynst him ; further to increase the Kinges displeasure towardes him, busylye traveyled to invente some coolerable[1] devise for the Kinges furtherance in that behalfe ; which, as before is mentioned, he to his grace revealed, hoping therby to bringe the Kinge to a better likinge of himself and the more

[1] Colourable, plausible.

misliking of the Cardinall. Whome his highnes therfore soone after of his office displaced, and to Sir Thomas More, the rather to move him to enclyne to his side, the same in his steede committed.[1] Who betwene the Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke being broughte throughe Westminster Hall to his place in the Chancerye, the Duke of Norfolk, in the audience of all the people there assembled, shewed that he was from the Kinge himself strayghtly chardged by speciall commission, there openly in presence of them all, to make declaration how much all England was beholden to Sir Thomas More for his good service, and howe worthye he was to have the highest roome in the realme, and howe derely his grace loved and trusted him, for which, sayed the Duke, he had great cause to rejoyce. Wherunto Sir Thomas More, amongst many other his humble and wise sayings not nowe in my memorye, answered that althoughe he had good cause to take comforte of his highnes singuler favour towardes him, that he had, farre above his desartes, so highlie commended him, to whome therfore he acknowledged himselfe most deeply bounden; yet neverthelesse he muste for his owne parte needes confesse, that in all thinges by his grace alleadged he had done noe more then was his duetye; and further disabled himselfe as unmeete for that roome, wherin consideringe how wise and honorable a prelate had lately before taken such a great faulte, he had, he sayed, therof noe cause to rejoyce. And as they had before on the kinges behalfe chardged him uprightly to minister indifferent justice[2] to the people, without corruption or affection, soe did he like wise chardge them agayne, that if they sawe him at any tyme in any thinge disgress from any parte of his dewtye in that honorable office, even as they would dischardge their owne dewtye and fidelity to God and the Kinge, soe shoulde they

[1] 1529. [2] Impartial justice.

not fayle to disclose it to his grace, whoe otherwise might have juste occasion to lay his faulte whollye to theire chardge.

While he was Lord Chauncellour, beinge uppon a tyme att leasure, as seldome he was, one of his Sonnes-in-lawe sayd merylye unto him, When Cardinall Wolsey was Lord Chauncellour, not onlye divers of his privye chamber, but such alsoe as were his doore keepers gatt greate gayne. And since he had maried one of his daughters, and gave still attendance upon him, he thoughte he mighte of reasone looke for some; where he indeede, because he was soe readye himselfe to here every manne, poore or riche, and kept no dores shutt from them, coulde fynd none; which was to him a great discouragment. And wheras some for friendshippe, some for kindred, and some for profitt woulde gladly have had his furtherance in bringinge them to his presence, if he should now take anything of them, he knewe, he sayed he should doe them greate wronge, for that they might doe as much for themselves as he could doe for them. Which condicion, thoughe he thought in Sir Thomas More very commendable, yet to himself, he sayed, beinge his sonne, he founde yt nothinge profittable. When he had tould him this tale, You say well, Sonne, quothe he, I doe not mislike that you are of conscience soe scroupulous; but many other wayes be ther, Sonne, that I may bothe doe your selfe good, and pleasure your frend alsoe. For sometyme may I by my worde stande your freinde in steede, and sometyme may I by my letter helpe him; or if he have a cause dependinge before me, at your requeste I may here him before another. Or yf his cause be not all the beste, yet may I move the partyes to fall to some reasonable end by arbitriment. Howbeit this one thinge, Sonne, I assure thee on my fayth, if the partye will at my hands call for justice, then were it my father stood

on the tone side, and the devill on the tother, his cause being good, the devill shoulde have righte. Soe offred he his sonne as he thoughte, he sayed, as much favour as with reason he could require, and that he would for noe respecte disgresse from justice, as yt well appered by a plaine ensample of another of his sonnes-in-lawe called Maister Heron.[1] For when he, havinge a matter before him in the Chancery, and presuming to muche on his favour, would by him in noe wise be perswaded to agree to any indifferent[2] order, then made he in conclusion a flatte decree agaynst him.

This Lord Chauncellour used commonly everye afternoone to sitt in his open hall, to thentente that yf any persons had any suite to him, they might the more boldly come to his presence, and there open their complayntes before him. Whose manner was alsoe to reade everye bill himselfe, ere he would award any subpena, whiche bearinge matter worthye a subpena would he sett his hande unto, or ells cancell yt. Whensoever he passed through Westminster Hall to his place in the Chauncerye by the Court of the Kinges Benche, yf his father, one of the Judges therof, had beene sett ere he came, he woulde goe into the same Courte, and there reverently kneelinge downe in the sighte of them all, duely aske his fathers blessinge. And yf it fortuned that his father and he at Readings in Lincolnes Inne mett togeather, as they sometyme did, notwithstanding his highe office, he would offer in argument the prehemynencye to his father, thoughe he, for his office sake, woulde refuse to take yt. And for the better declaracion of his natural affection towardes his father, he not only while he lay in his deathe bedd, accordinge to his dewyte, oftentymes with comfortable wordes most kyndly came to visitte him, but alsoe at his departure

[1] Giles Heron, who married More's third daughter Cicely.
[2] Impartial.

out of the worlde, with teares takinge him aboute the necke most lovingly kissed and embraced him, commending him into the mercyfull handes of almighty God, and soe departed from him. And as fewe injunctions[1] as he granted while he was Lorde Chauncellour, yet were they by some of the judges of the lawe misliked; which I understandinge, declared the same to Sir Thomas More. Who answered me that they shoulde have little cause to fynde faulte with him therfore, and therupon caused he one Master Crooke, cheif of the Six Clerkes, to make a dockett conteyninge the whole number and causes of all such injunctions as eyther in his tyme had alreadye passed, or at that present depended in any of the Kinges Courtes at Westminster before him. Which donne he invited all the judges to dyne with him in the Councell Chamber at Westminster, wher after dynner, when he had broken with them what complayntes he had harde of his injunctions, and morover showed them bothe the number and causes of every one of them in order soe playnlye, that upon full debatinge of this matter, they were all enforced to confesse that they, in like case, could have donne no otherwise themselves, than offered he this unto them: that yf the justices of everye courte unto whome the reformacion of the rygore of the lawe, by reason of their office, most especiallye appertayned, would upon reasonable consideracions by their owne discression, as they were, he thoughte, in conscience bounde, mitegate and reforme the rygore of the lawe themselves, there shoulde from thenceforth by him no moe injunctions be graunted. Wherunto, when they refused to condescende, then sayed he unto them; Forasmuch as yourselves, my Lordes, drive me to that necessitye for awardinge out injunctions to releeve

[1] The Equity part of the Court of Chancery could issue injunctions to stop proceedings in other Courts, where the letter of the law was being applied too rigorously.

the peoples injurye, you cannot hereafter any more justly blame me. After that, he sayed secretly unto me, I perceyve, Sonne, why they like not soe to doe ; for they see that by the virdite of the jurye, they may cast off all quarrells from themselves upon them, which they accompte their cheife defence ; and therfore am I compelled to abide the adventure of all such reportes. And, as litle leasure as he had to be occupied in the studye of the Holy Scripture, and contraversities of religion, and such other vertuous exercises, beinge in manner continuallye busied aboute the affayres of the Kynge and the Realme, yet such watche and payne in settinge forthe of divers profittable workes[1] in the defence of the true Catholike religion agaynst heresies secretly sowen abroade in the Realme, assuredly susteined he that the Bishoppes, to whose pasturall cure the reformacion therof principally apperteyned, thinkinge themselves by his traveyle, wherin by their owne confession they were not able with him to make comparison, of theire dewtyes in that behalfe dischardged ; and consideringe that for all his princes favoure he was noe riche man, nor in yerlye revenues advanced as his worthines deserved ; therfore, at a convocacion amongst themselves and other of the clargye, they agreed togeather and concluded upon a somme of foure or five thousande poundes, at the least, to my remembrance, for his paynes to recompense him. To the payment wherof everye Bishoppe, Abbott, and the reste of the clargye were after the rate of their abillityes

[1] Some of these profitable works are: A dyalogue of Sir Thomas More . . . wherein he treatyth dyvers matters, as of the . . . worshyp of ymages and relyques, etc., 1529. The supplycacyon of Soulys, Made by Syr Thomas More knyght . . . Against the supplycacyon of beggars [of S. Fish], 1529. The confutacyon of Tyndales answere [to the dialogue] made by Syr T.M. 1532. The second parte of the confutacion, 1533. The apology of Syr T. More knyght, 1533. Syr Thomas More's answere to the fyste parte of the poysoned booke, which a namelesse heretyke hath named the Souper of the Lorde, 1534.

liberall contribitoryes, hoopinge this portion should be to his contentation. Wherupon Tunstalle Bishoppe of Durham, Clarke Bishoppe of Bathe, and as farre as I canne call to mynde, Vessey Bishoppe of Excester, repayred unto him, declaring unto him howe thankfullye for his traveyles to their dischardge in godds cause bestowed, they reckoned themselves bounden to consider him. And that albeit they could not accordinge to his desartes, soe worthylye as they gladlye woulde, requite him therfore, but must referre that onlye to the goodnes of God, yet for a small parte of recompense in respecte of his estate, soe unequall to his worthynes, in the name of theire whole convocacion they presented unto him that somme, which they desired him to take in good parte. Who, forsakinge[1] it, sayed thus: That like as yt was noe small comfort to him that soe wise and learned men soe well accepted his simple doings, for which he never intended to receyve rewarde but at the handes of God only, to whom alone was the thanke therof cheifly to be ascribed, soe gave he most humble thankes to theire honors all for theire soe bountyfull and frendly consideracion. When they, for all their importune pressinge upon him, that fewe woulde have weant[2] he could have refused yt, coulde by no meanes make him take yt, then besoughte they him to be content yet that they might bestowe it upon his wife and children. Not soe, my Lordes, quothe he; I had leaver see it all cast into the Theames, then I, or any of myne, should have therof the worthe of one pennye. For thoughe your offer, my Lordes, be indeed very frendly and honorable, yet sett I soe much by my pleasure, and soe little by my profitt, that I would not, in good faythe, for soe much and muche more, to have loste the rest of soe many nightes sleepe, as was spente upon the same. And yet wishe woulde I, for all that, upon condicion that all heresies

[1] Declining. [2] Understood, believed.

were suppressed, that all my bookes were burned, and my labour utterly loste. Thus departinge were they fayne to restore to everye manne his own agayne.

This Lord Chauncellour, albeit he was to God and the worlde well knowen of notable vertue, thoughe not soe of everye manne considered, yet, for the avoydinge of singulartye, would he appeare noe other wise then other menne in his apparell and other behaviour. And albeit outwardlye he appered honorable like one of his callinge, yet inwardly he noe suche vanities esteeminge, secretly next his bodye ware a sherte of heare.[1] Which my Sister More[2] a yonge gentlewoman, in the sommer as he satt at supper singly in his doblett and hose, wearinge therupon a playne sherte without ruffe or coller, chanceing to espye, beganne to laughe at yt. My wife, not ygnorante of his manner, perceyving the same, privylie tould him of yt, and he beinge sorye that she sawe yt, presently ammended the same. He used alsoe sometymes to punishe his bodye with whippes, the cordes knotted, which was knowen only to my wife, his eldest daughter; whome for her secrecy, above all other he specially trusted, causinge her, as neede required, to washe the same sherte of heare.

Nowe shortly upon his entrye into the highe office of the Chancellorshippe, the kinge eftsoones[3] agayne moved him to waye and consider his great matter. Who fallinge downe upon his knees, humbly besought his highnes to stand his gratious soveraygne, as he ever since his entrye into his gratious service had found him, sayinge there was nothinge in the worlde had beene soe grevious unto his harte, as to remember that he was not able, as he willingly would with

[1] The harsh and uncomfortable shirt of rough hair cloth was worn by penitents, and those who wished to mortify the flesh.

[2] His sister-in-law, Anne Cresacre, the wife of More's son.

[3] Soon.

the losse of one of his lymmes, for that matter anythinge to fynde, wherby he colde with his conscience safely serve his graces contentation, as he that alwayes bare in mynde the most godly wordes that his highness spake unto him at his first commynge into his noble service, the most virtuous lesson that ever prince taughte his servante ; willinge hym firste to looke unto Godd, and after Godd unto him ; as in good fayth, he sayed, he did, or ells mighte his grace well accompt him his most unworthye servante. To this the Kinge answered, that if he could not therin with his conscience serve him, he was content to accepte his service otherwise ; and usinge the advice of other his learned councell, whose consciences would well enoughe agree therwithe, would never the less continue his gratious favour towardes him, and never with that matter molest his conscience after. But Sir Thomas More in processe of tyme seeinge the kinge fullye determined to proceede further in the mariage of Queene Anne, and when he with the bishoppes and nobles of the higher house of the Parliament were, for the furtheraunce of that mariage, commanded by the Kinge to go downe to the Common House to shewe unto them bothe what the Universities, as well of the other parts beyond the seas, as of Oxford and Cambridge, had donne in that behalfe, and their seales alsoe testifyeinge the same, all which matters, at the Kinges requeste, not shewinge of what mynde himself was therin, he opened to the lower house of the Parliament. Neverthelesse, doubtinge leste further attemptes after should followe, which, contrarye to his conscience, by reason of his office, he was likelye to be put unto, he made suite unto the Duke of Norfolke, his singular deere frende, to be a meane to the Kynge that he might, with his graces favour, be dischardged of that chardgable roome[1] of the Chancellorshippe, wherin, for certeyne infirmityes of his bodye,

[1] Onerous place.

he pretended himself unable any longer to serve. This duke, commynge on a tyme to Chelsey to dyne withe him, fortuned to fynde him at the Churche, singinge in the quire, with a surplasse on his backe. To whome, after service, as they wente homewardes togeather arme in arme, the duke sayed, God bodye, God bodye, my Lorde Chauncellour a parishe clarke, a parish clarke! You dishonor the Kinge and his office. Nay, quothe Sir Thomas More, smilinge upon the duke, Your grace may not think that the Kinge, your master and myne, will with me for servinge of God, his master, be offended, or therby accompte his office dishonored. When the duke, beinge therunto often sollicited, by importunate suite had at lengthe obteyned of the Kinge for Sir Thomas More a cleere dischardge of his office, then, at a tyme convenient by his highnes appoyntment, repayred he to his grace to yealde uppe unto him the Great Seall. Which, as his grace with thankes and prayse for his worthye service in that office, courteously at his handes receyved, soe pleased it his highnes further to saye unto him, that for the good service which he before had donne him, in any suite which he should after have unto him, that eyther should concerne his honor, for that worde it liked his highnes to use unto him, or that should appertayne unto his profitt, he shoulde fynd his highnes a good and gratious lord unto him.

After he had thus given over the Chauncellorshippe, and placed all his gentlemen and yeomen with bishoppes and noblemenne, and his eyght watermenne with the Lord Audley that in the same office succeeded him, to whome alsoe he gave his great bardge; then, callinge us all that were his children unto him, and askinge our advise howe we might nowe, in this decaye of his abillitye,[1] by the surrendour of his office soe impayred, that he could not as he was wonte, and gladly woulde, beare out the whole

[1] *I.e.* this lessening of his ability to provide for them.

chardge of them all himselfe, from thencforth be able to continue together, as he wished we shoulde ; when he saw us all silent, and in that case not readye to showe our opinions unto him, Then will I, saied he, showe my poore mynde to you. I have beene brought uppe, quothe he, at Oxforde, at an Inne of Chauncerye, at Lincolnes Inne, and alsoe at the Kinges courte, and soe forthe from the lowest degree to the highest, and yet have I in yerely revenues at this presente left me little above an hundred pounds by the yere ; soe that nowe must we needes hereafter, if we like to live togeather, be contented to become contrybutaryes togeather. But by my councell it shall not be best for us to fall to the lowest fare first ; we will not therfore descend to Oxford fare, nor to the fare of Newe Inne ; but we will begynne with Lincolnes Inne diet, where many right worshipfull and of good yeres doe live full well. Which, if we find not ourselves the first yere able to maynteyne, then will we the next yere goe a stepp downe to New Inne fare, wherwith many an honest manne is well contented. If that exceede our abilitie too, then will we the next yere after, descende to Oxforde fare ; where many grave, learned, and auncient fathers be continuallye conversante. Which if our powre stretch not to mayntayne neyther, then maye we yet, with bagge and wallett, goe a begginge togeather, and hoppinge that for pittye some good folke will give us their charitye, at everye mans doore to singe Salve Regina,[1] and soe still keepe companye and bee merrye togeather. And wheras you have harde before, he was by the Kinge from a very worshippefull livinge taken into his graces service, with whome, in all the greate and wayghtye causes that concerned his highnes or the realme, he consumed and spent with paynfull cares and travyles and troubles, as well beyonde the

[1] One of the antiphons of the Virgin, beginning : "Salve, Regina, Mater misericordiae."

seas as within the realme, in effecte, the whole substance of his life, yet with all the gayne he gott therby, beinge never noe wastfull spender therof, he was not able, after the resignacion of his office of the Lorde Chauncellourshippe, for the maynteynance of himselfe and suche as necessarylie belonged unto him, sufficientlye to fynde meate and drinke, fewell and apparell, and suche other necessary chardges. And all the land that ever he purchased, which alsoe he purchased before he was Lorde Chauncellour, was not, I am well assured, above the value of twentye markes[1] by the yere; and after his debtes payed, he had not, I know, his chayne excepted, in gold and silver lefte him the worth of one hundred pounds. And wheras upon the holy dayes, duringe his high office of Chauncellorshippe, one of his gentlemenne, when service at the churche was donne, ordinarily used to come to my ladye his wifes pue, and saye unto her, Madame, my lord is gonne, the next holy daye after the surrendour of his office and departure of his gentlemenne, he came unto my lady his wifes pue himselfe, and makinge a lowe curtesye, sayed unto her, Maddame my lorde is gonne.[2]

In the tyme, somewhat before his troubles, he wolde talke with his wife and children of the joyes of heaven and the paynes of hell, of the lives of holye martires, of their greivous matirdomes, of their

[1] The mark was 13*s.* 4*d.* See above as to its purchasing value.

[2] After these words Lewis prints in brackets, doubtfully, the passage below. Singer reproduces the lines apologetically, and says he can find no authority for them. There is no trace of the passage in any manuscript that I have seen, and as it is rather stupid and out of keeping with the rest of the work, it is accordingly omitted. This is the passage: "But she, thinking this at first to be but one of his jests, was little moved, till he told her sadly he had given up the Great Seal. Whereupon, she speaking some passionate words, he called his daughters then present to see if they could not find some fault about their mother's dressing, but they, after search, saying they could find none, he replied: 'Do you not perceive that your mother's nose standeth somewhat awry?' Of which jeer the provoked lady was so sensible that she went away in a rage."

marvaylous patience, and of their passions and deathes that they suffred rather then they woulde offende Godde, and what an happye and blessed thinge it was for the love of godde to suffer the losse of goods, imprisonment, loss of landes, and life allsoe. He would further saye unto them, that upon hys faythe yf he might perceyve his wife and children would incourage him to dye in a good cause, that it should soe comforte him, that for very joye thereof, yt would make him merrylye runne to deathe. He shewed unto them before what trouble mighte after fall unto him; wherwith and the like virtuous talke he had soe longe before hys trouble incouraged them, that when he after fell into trouble indeede, his trouble to them was a greate deale the less. Quia spicula previsa minus ledunt.[1]

Now upon this resignment of his office came Sir Thomas Cromwell then in the kinges high favoure,[2] to Chelsey to him with a message from the Kinge. Wherin when they had thoroughly commoned togeather, Maister Cromwell, quothe he, you are nowe

[1] Afflictions that we foresee are less grievous to bear.

[2] Thomas Cromwell, born (1485) the son of a brewer, publican, and blacksmith of Putney, was himself a Jack-of-all-trades. Soldier, clerk, shady lawyer, and money-lender in turn, he was found useful by Wolsey for his readiness to undertake disreputable offices. He rose on stepping-stones of better men to higher things. He profited by Wolsey's fall, and by More's disgrace, and commended himself to Henry VIII., who could always find a use for low and unscrupulous servants. He held many high offices, becoming finally (1535) the King's Vicar-General in ecclesiastical affairs. In the bloody Revolution that separated England from Rome, Cromwell was a sort of Robespierre, sending hundreds of innocent and saintly victims to the block. He enriched the King and his friends with the spoils of the monasteries, and himself became Earl of Essex. He ruled for seven or eight years, the last five of which were a veritable reign of terror. The establishment of Royal (*i.e.* national, as opposed to foreign) supremacy in religion was a good deed; but the manner of its doing was dreadful, and all England cried aloud for the Minister's death. Henry, whose use for him was gone, callously threw him over. He begged in vain for mercy, and was beheaded with needless pain by an awkward executioner in 1540.

entred into the service of a most noble, wise and liberall prince; yf you will followe my poore advise, you shall, in your councell-givinge unto his grace, ever tell him what he oughte to doe, but never what he is able to doe. Soe shall you showe yourselfe a true faythfull subjecte, and a right wise worthy councellor. For yf the lyone knewe his owne strengthe, harde were it for any man to rule him. Shortlye thereuppon there was a commission directed to Cranmer, then Archbishoppe of Canterbury, to determyne the matter of the matrymonye betweene the Kinge and the Queene Katheryne, att S^t^ Albones, wher accordinge to the Kinges mynde, it was thoroughly determyned.[1] Whoe pretendinge he had noe justice at the Popes hands from thenceforthe sequestered himselfe from the Sea of Roome, and soe maried the Ladye Anne Bulleyne. Which Sir Thomas More understandinge, sayed unto me, God give grace, Sonne, that these matters within a whyle be not confirmed with oathes. I at that tyme, seeinge no likelihoode therof, yet fearinge lest for his forespeakinge it woulde the sooner come to passe, waxed therfore for his soe sayinge muche offended with him.

It fortuned not longe before the cominge of Queene Anne throughe the streetes of London from the Tower to Westminster to her coronation, that he receyved a letter from the Bishoppes of Durham, Bathe, and Winchester, requestinge him bothe to keepe them company from the Tower to the coronation, and alsoe to take twenty pounds that by the bearer therof they had sente him to buy him a gowne withe; which he thankfully receyvinge, and at home still tarrieinge, at their next meetinge sayed merrilye unto them; My Lordes, in the letters which you lately sente me, you required two thinges of me; the tone wherof, sithe I was soe well contented to

[1] The Council was held at Dunstable (1533)—not at St. Albans.

grante you, the tother therfore I thoughte I mighte be the boulder to denye you. And like as the tone, because I tooke you for noe beggers, and myselfe I knewe to be noe very ryche man, I thoughte I mighte the rather fullfill, soe the tother did put me in remembrance of an Emperour, that had ordeyned a lawe that whosoever committed a certeyne offence, which I nowe remember not, excepte it were a virgine, shoulde suffer the paynes of death, such a reverence had he to virginitie. Nowe soe happened it, that the first committer of that offence was a virgine, wherof the Emperour hearinge was in no small perplexetye, as he that by some ensample wolde fayne have had that lawe put in execution. Wherupon when his councell had satt longe, solempnly debatinge this case, sodeynly rose there uppe one of his councell, a good playne manne amonge them, and sayd, Whye make ye soe much adoe, my Lordes, about soe small a matter. Lette her first be deflowered, and then after maye she be devowered. And soe though your Lordshippes have in the matter of the matrymonye hytherto kept yourselves pure virgines, yet take good heede, my Lordes, that you keepe your virginities still. For some there be that by procuringe your Lordshippes first at the coronacion to be presente, and nexte to preach for the settinge forth of it, and fiynally to wryte bookes to all the worlde in defence thereof, are desierous to deflower you, and when they have deflowered you, then will they not fayle soone after to devower you. Nowe, my Lordes, quothe he, it lyeth not in my powre but that they maye devower me; but God beinge my good Lorde, I will provide they shall never deflower me.

In continuance, when the Kinge sawe that he could by no manner of benifitts wynne him to his side, then loe, wente he aboute by terror and threats to drive him therunto. The begynning of which trouble grewe by occasion of a certaine Nonne dwellinge

in Canterbury,[1] for her vertue and holines of life amonge the people not a little esteemed ; unto whome, for that cause, manye religious persons, doctors of divinitye, and divers others of good worshippe of the laytie used to resorte. Who affirminge that she had revelacions from God to give the Kinge warninge of his wicked life, and of the abuse of the sworde and auctoritie committed unto him by God, and understandinge my Lord of Rochester, Bishoppe Fisher, to be a man of notable virtuous livinge and learninge, repayred to Rochester, and there disclosed to him all her revelacions, disireinge his advise and councell therin. Whiche the Bishoppe perceyvinge might well stande with the lawes of God and his holy Churche, advised her, as she before had warninge and intended, to goe to the Kinge herselfe, and let him understand the whole circumstance therof. Whereupon she went unto the Kinge and tolde him all her revelacions, and so returned home agayne. And in shorte space after, she, makinge a journey to the Noonnes of Sion, by meanes of one Maister Reynoldes, a father of the same house, there fortuned, concerninge suche secretts as had beene revealed unto her, some parte wherof seemed to touch the matter of the Kinges Supremacye and mariage which shortly therupon followed, to enter into talke with Sir Thomas More.[2] Who,

[1] Elizabeth Barton, the "Holy Maid of Kent," was alleged to have the gift of prophecy. Some of her utterances were literally the result of suggestion, for certain monks, taking advantage of her repute with the people, prompted her to invent divine denouncements of Protestantism. She became a centre of disaffection. In particular she prophesied that Henry VIII. would not live a month after his sinful marriage with Anne ; but, unfortunately for the Sibyl's reputation, the King survived. She was arrested, and during several examinations (under torture) confessed she was an impostor. She was executed with some of her "spiritual advisers," in 1534.

[2] The order of the sentence rather obscures the sense, which is : While she was at Sion House, she happened to enter into talk with Sir Thomas More concerning her revelations, some of which touched upon the King's Supremacy and marriage.

notwithstandinge he might well at that tyme without danger of any lawe, thoughe after, as himselfe had pronosticated before, those matters were stablished by statutes and confirmed by oathes, freely and saflye have talked with her therin, neverthelesse in all the communicacion between them, as in processe it appered, had alwayes soe discreetly demeaned himselfe, that he deserved not to be blamed, but contrary wise to be commended and praysed. And had he not beene one that in all his greate offices and doinges for the Kinge and Realme, soe many yeres togeather, had from all corruption of wrong doinge or bribes takinge kept himselfe so cleere, that noe man was able therwith once to blemishe him or make any juste quarrell agaynst him, it woulde without doubte in this troubleous tyme of the Kinges indignacion towardes him have beene deeply layed to his chardge, and of the Kinges highnes most favorablye accepted. As in the case of one Parnell it most manifestly appered; agaynst whome because Sir Thomas More, while he was Lord Chauncellour, at the suite of one Vaughan his adversary, had made a decree, this Parnell to the Kinges highnes most greevouslye complayned that Sir Thomas More, for makinge the same decree, had of the saied Vaughan, unable for the goute to travayle abroad himselfe, by the handes of his wife taken a fayre greate guilted cuppe for a bribe. Who therupon by the Kinges appoyntment beinge called before the whole councell wher that matter was heynouslye layed to his chardge, forthwithe confessed that for as much as that cuppe was, longe after the foresaied decree, brought him for a New Yeres gifte, he, upon her importunate pressinge upon him therfore, of curtesy refused not to receyve it. Then the Lord of Wilshire,[1] for hatred of his

[1] Sir Thomas Boleyn, Viscount Rochford, Earl of Wiltshire, father of Mary and Anne Boleyn. On the whole, he did very well out of his two daughters' guilt, and the younger's promotion.

religion preferrer of this suite, with much rejoycinge sayed unto the lordes, Loe, my lordes, loe, did I not tell you that you should fynd this matter true? wheruppon Sir Thomas More desiered their lordshippes, that as they had courteouslye hard hymself tell the tone part of his tale, so they would vouchsafe of their honors indifferently[1] to heare the tother. After which obteyned, he further declared unto them, that albeit he had indeed with much worke[2] receyved that cuppe, yet immediately therupon he caused his buttler to fill it with wyne, and of that cuppe dranke to her; and that when he had soe donne and she had pledged him, then as freely as her husbande had given yt to him, even so freely gave he the same to her agayne to give unto her husband for his New Yeres gifte; which, at his instante requeste, thoughe much agaynst her will, at length yet she was fayne to receyve, as her selfe and certayne other there present before them deposed. Thus was the greate mountayne turned scante[3] to a little mowlehill.

Soe I remember that at another tyme, uppone a Newe Yeres daye, there came unto him one Maistres Crocker a riche widdowe, for whom with noe small paynes he had made a decree in the Chancerye agaynst the Lord Arundell, to presente him with a payre of gloves and fortye poundes in Angells in them for a Newe Yeres gifte. Of whome he thankfully receyving the gloves, but refusinge the money, sayed unto her, Mistress, since it were agaynst good manners to forsake a gentlewomans Newe Yeres gifte, I am content to take your gloves, but as for your money, I utterly refuse it. Soe, much agaynst her mynde, inforced he her to take her goulde agayne. And one Maister Greshame likwise, havinge at the same tyme a cause dependinge in the Chauncerye before him, sente him for a New Yeres gift a fayre

[1] Impartially. [2] After many protests and denials.
[3] It was turned scant = it was diminished.

guilted cuppe, the fassyon wherof he very well likinge, caused one of his owne, thoughe not in his fantasie[1] of soe good a fassyon, yet better in valewe, to be brought to him out of his chamber, which he willed the messenger in recompence to deliver unto his master. And under other condicion woulde he in noe wyse receyve yt. Many other thinges more of like effecte, for the declaracion of his innocencye and clearnes from all corruption or evill affection, could I heare rehearse besides, which for tediousnes ommittinge,[2] I referre to the readers by these fewe foreremembred examples, with their own judgments wislye to waye and consider the same.

At the Parliament followinge, was there put into the Lordes House a Bill to atteynte the Noonne and divers other religious persons, of highe treasone, and the Bishoppe of Rochester, Sir Thomas More, and certeyne others, of misprision of treasone[3]: the Kinge presupposinge of liklihood that this Bill would be to Sir Thomas More soe troublous and terrible that it would force him to relente and condescende to his requeste: wherin his grace was much deceyved. To which Bill Sir Thomas More was a suitor personally to be receyved in his owne defence to make answere. But the Kinge not likinge that, assigned the Bishoppe of Canterburye,[4] the Lorde Chauncellor,[5] the Duke of Norfolke, and Maister Cromwell, to a daye and place appoynted, to call Sir Thomas More before them. At which tyme I, thinkinge that I had a good opportunytie, ernestly advised him to labour unto those Lordes for the helpe of his dischardge out of that Parliament Bill. Who answered me he woulde. And at his comminge before them, accordinge to their appoyntment, they entertayned him very frendlye, willinge him to sitt downe with them, which

[1] Fancy. [2] *I.e.* "which I omit to avoid tediousness."
[3] *I.e.* knowledge of treason without disclosing that knowledge.
[4] Cranmer. [5] Audley.

in no wise he woulde. Then beganne the Lord Chauncellor to declare unto him howe many wayes the Kinge had showed his love and favour towardes him ; how fayne he would have had him to continue in his office ; howe gladd he would have beene to have heaped more benefitts upon him ; and finally howe he could aske no worldly honor or profitt at his highnes handes that were likely to be denied him ; hopinge by the declaracion of the Kinges kindnes and affection towards him, to provoke him to recompence his grace with the like agayne, and unto those thinges that the Parliament, the Bishoppes, and Universities had alreadye passed, to add his consente.

To this Sir Thomas More myldly made answere, saying, Noe man livinge is there, my Lordes, that would with better wyll doe the thinge that should be acceptable to the Kinges hignes then I, which must needes confesse hys manyfolde goodnes and bountifull benefittes most benignlye bestowed upon me. Howbeit, I veryly hooped that I should never have harde of this matter more, considering that I have from tyme to tyme alwayes from the begynninge soe playnly and truely declared my mynd unto his grace, which his highnes to me ever seemed, like a moste gratious prince, verye well to accepte, never mynding, as he sayed, to molest me more therwithe. Since which tyme any further thynge that was able to moove me to any change I could never fynde ; and if I could, there is none in all the world that would have beene gladder of it then I. Many things more were there of like sorte uttered on bothe sides. But in thende, when they sawe they could by no manner of perswasions remove him from his former determinacion, then beganne they more terribly to touche him, telling him that the Kinges highnes had given them in commandment yf they could by noe gentlenesse wynne him, in his name with his great ingratitude to charge him ; that never was there servant to his sovereygne

so villanous, nor subject to his prince so trayterous as he. For he, by his subtill synister sleyghtes most unnaturally procuringe and provokinge him to sett forthe a booke of the Assertion of the Seaven Sacraments[1] and maynteynance of the Popes Auctoritye, had caused him, to his dishonour throughoute all Christendome, to put a sworde in the Popes hande to fight agaynst himselfe. When they had thus layed forthe all the terrors they could ymagine agaynste him, My lordes, quothe he, these terrors be arguments for children, and not for me. But to answere to that wherwith you doe chieflye burden me, I believe the Kinges highnes of his honor will never lay that to my chardge, for none is there that canne in that poynte say in my excuse more to me then his highnes himselfe, who right well knoweth that I was never procurer nor councellor of his majestie therunto; but after it was finished, by his graces appoyntment and consent of the makers of the same, I was only a sorter out and placer of the principall matters therin conteyned.[2] Wherin when I founde the Popes Auctoritye highlye advanced and with stronge arguments mightily defended, I sayed unto his grace, I must put your highnes in remembrance of one thinge, and that is this: the Pope, as your grace knowethe, is a prince as you are, and in league with all other Christyan princes. It may hereafter soe fall out that your grace and he may varye upon some poyntes of the league, wherupon may growe breache of amitye and warre

[1] Henry's book was Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum, etc., 1521. For writing the book, Leo X. gave Henry the title "Fidei Defensor," which the sovereigns of England still retain—with as little reason as they used to call themselves Kings of France.

[2] Some one has said that we should never criticize royal compositions, since we never know who might have written them. Henry's "Assertio" seems a case in point. Were his musical compositions similarly revised? An interesting new edition of "Assertio," with a full apparatus of criticism, has just been prepared by Rev. Louis O'Donovan (New York, 1908).

betwene you bothe. I thinke it best therfore, that the place be amended, and his auctoritye more sclenderly touched. Nay, quothe his grace, that shall it not; wee are soe much bounden unto the Sea of Roome, that we cannot doe too much honor to yt. Then did I further put him in remembraunce of the Statute of Premunyre,[1] wherby a good parte of the Popes pasturall cure here was pared awaye. To that answere his highnes: Whatsoever impediment be to the contrarye, we will sett forthe that auctorytie to the uttermost; for we receyved from that Sea of Roome our crowne Emperiall: which, till his grace with his owne mouthe told it me, I never harde of before. Soe that I trust when his grace shalbe once truly informed of this, and call to his gratious remembraunce my doings in that behalfe, his highnes will never speake of it more, but cleare me thoroughly therin himself. And thus displeasantly departed they. Then tooke Sir Thomas More his boate towardes his house at Chelsey, wherin by the waye he was verye merye, and for that was I nothinge sorye, hoopinge that he had gotte himselfe dischardged out of the Parliament Bill. When he was landed and came home, then walked we twayne alone in his gardyne togeather; where I, desierous to knowe howe he had sped, sayed, I truste, Sir, that all is well because that you be soe merrye. It is soe, indeede, Sonne Roper, I thanke Godd, quothe he. Are you then put out of the Parliament Bill, sayed I? By my trothe, Sonne Roper, quoth he, I never remembred it. Never remembred it, Sir! sayed I, a case that toucheth your selfe so nere, and us all for your sake. I am sorye to heere it; for I veryly trusted, when I sawe you soe merrye, that all had beene well. Then sayed he,

[1] The Statutes called "Praemunire" (the first, 1353, *temp.* Edward III.) denounced punishments upon those who gave currency to edicts, decrees, etc., of foreign sovereigns (*e.g.* Papal bulls), or who prosecuted suits in foreign courts (*e.g.* the Papal courts).

Wilt thou knowe, Sonne Roper, wherfore I was soe merrye? That would I gladly, Sir, quothe I. In good faythe I rejoyced, Sonne, quothe he, that I had given the divill a foull fall, and that with those Lordes I had gonne so farre as without great shame I could never goe backe agayne. At which wordes waxed I verry sad; for thoughe himselfe liked it well, yet liked it me but a litle.

Now uppon the reporte made by the Lord Chauncellor and the other Lordes to the Kinge of all their whole discourse had with Sir Thomas More, the kinge was soe highly offended with him, that he playnly told them he was fullye determyned that the foresayed Parliament Bill should undoubtedly proceed agaynst him. To whome the Lord Chauncellour and the rest of the Lordes sayed, that they perceyved the Lords of the Upper House soe presisely bente to heare him, in his owne defence, make answere himselfe, that if he were not put out of that Byll, yt would witheoute fayle be utterlye an overthrowe of all. But for all this, needes would the Kinge have his owne will therein, or ells, he saied at the passinge therof he woulde be personally presente himselfe. Then the Lorde Audley and the rest, seeinge him soe vehemently sett therupon, one their knees most humblye besoughte his grace to forbeare the same, considerynge that if he should in his owne presence receyve an overthrowe, it woulde not only encourage his subjectes ever after to contempne him, but also througheout all Christendome redounde to his dishonor for ever. Addinge therunto that they mistrusted not in tyme agaynst him to fynde some meeter matter to serve his turne better; for in this cause of the Noonne he was accompted, they sayed, soe innocente and cleare, that for his dealinge therin, men reckoned him farrre worthyer of prayse then reproofe. Wherupon at lengthe, throughe their ernest perswasion, he was contente to condescende to their peticion; and one

the morrowe after, Maister Cromwell meeting me in the Parliament House, willed me to tell my father that he was put out of the Parliament Bill. But because I had appoynted to dyne that day in London, I sent the message by my servant to my wife at Chelsey. Wherof when she informed her father, In faythe, Megge, quothe he, Quod defertur non aufertur.[1] After this, as the Duke of Norfolke and Sir Thomas More chanced to fall in familier talke togeather, the Duke sayed unto him, by the masse, Maister More, it is perilouse strivinge with princes; and therfore I would wishe you somewhat to enclyne to the Kinges pleasure; for by God bodye, Master More, Indignatio principis mors est.[2] Is that all, my Lord, quothe he; then in good faythe there is noe more difference betwene your grace and me, but that I shall dye to day, and you to morrowe.[3]

Soe fell it out within a monthe or thereaboutes, after the makinge of the Statute for the Oathe of the Supremacye and Matrymonye, that all the preistes of London and Westminster, and noe temperall menne[4] but he, were sente for to appere at Lambeth[5] before the Bishoppe of Canterburye, the Lorde Chauncellor, and Secretary Cromwell, commissioners appoynted there to tender the oathe unto them. Then Sir Thomas More, as his accustomed manner was alwayes ere he entred into any matter of importance, as when he was first chosen of the Kinges Privye Councell, when he was sente Embassadour, appoynted Speaker of the Parliament House, made Lord Chauncellor, or when he tooke any like waightie matter upon him, to goe to the churche to be con-

[1] What is deferred is not avoided.
[2] The anger of a king is death.
[3] Norfolk's "to-morrow" was to have come on Jan. 28, 1547; but on the night before, Henry himself died, and Norfolk escaped.
[4] No other layman.
[5] 1534. See More's first letter for an account of the proceedings.

fessed, to here masse and be householed,[1] soe did he likewise in the morninge earlye the selfesame day that he was summoned to appeare before the Lordes at Lambethe. And wheras he evermore used before at his departure from his wife and children whome he tenderlie loved, to have them bringe him to his boate, and there to kisse them all and bidd them farewell, then would he suffer none of them forthe of the gate to followe him, but pulled the wickitt after him and shutt them all from him ; and with a heavye harte, as by his countenance it appered, with me and our foure servantes there took his boate towardes Lambethe. Wherin sitting still sadly a while, at the laste he soddeynlye rounded me in the eare,[2] and sayed, Sonne Roper, I thanke our Lord the feilde is wonne. What he mente therby I then wiste not ; yet loathe to seeme ygnorante I answered, Sir, I am therof verye gladd. But as I conjectured afterwardes, it was, for that the love he had to God wroughte in him soe effectually, that it conquered all his carnall affections utterly. Now at his cominge to Lambethe, howe wisely he behaved himselfe before the Commissioners at the ministracion of the oathe unto him, may be founde in certayne letters of his sente unto my wife, remayninge in a greate book of his workes.[3] Where by the space of fowre dayes he was betaken to the custodye of the Abbott of Westminster, duringe which tyme the kinge consulted with his councell what order were meete to be taken with him. And albeit in the beginninge they were resolved that with an oathe, not to be acknowen[4] whether he had to the

[1] *I.e.* not only to be present at mass, but actually to receive the sacrament. The Ghost in *Hamlet* complains that he was cut off when "unhouseled, disappointed, unanealed."

[2] Whispered to me.

[3] The "greate booke" is Rastell's comely black-letter folio of More's English works (1557). The letters appear at the end of the present volume.

[4] Several unsatisfactory explanations of this phrase have been offered. To be acknown is to be cognisant of a thing. Thus, Iago, when he

Supremacye bynne sworne, or what he thoughte therof, he shoulde be dischardged; yet did Queene Anne by her importunate clamor so sore exasperate the Kinge agaynst him, that, contrarye to his former resolucion, he caused the sayed Othe of the Supremacye to be ministred unto him. Who albeit he made a discreete qualified aunswer, neverthelesse was forthewithe committed to the Tower. Who as he was goinge thitherward, weringe, as he commonly did, a cheyne of golde aboute his necke, Sir Richard Southwell, that had the chardge of his conveyance thether, advised him to send his cheyne to his wife or to some of his children. Nay, Sir, quothe he, that will I not; for if I were taken in the feilde by my enemyes, I woulde they should somwhat fare the better by me. At whose landinge Maister Leiftenante at the Tower gate was readye to receyve him, where the porter demanded of him his upper garment. Maister Porter, quothe he, here it is; and tooke off his cappe and delivered it him, sayinge, I am very sorye it is noe better for you. Noe Sir, quothe the porter, I must have your gowne. And soe was he by Maister Leiftenant conveyed to his lodginge, wher he called unto him one John a Woode his owne servaunte there appoynted to attende uppon him, who coulde neither write nor reade, and sware him before the Leiftenaunt, that if he should here or see him att any tyme speake or write any manner of thinge agaynst the Kinge, the Councell, or the state of the Realme, he should open it to the Leiftenant, that the Leiftenant myghte incontinentlye reveale it to the Councell.

Now when he had remayned in the Tower little

snatches Desdemona's handkerchief from Emilia, says: "Be not acknown on't; I have use for it." That is, Emilia is to say nothing, and seem to know nothing. What does the phrase mean here? This: The King and Council were agreed that More should be discharged if he would take an oath binding him, (1) not to make known whether he had taken the oath of Supremacy or not: (2) not to make known his thoughts about the oath of Supremacy.

more then a monthe, my wife, longinge to see her father, by her earneste suite at lengthe gott leave to goe unto him. At whose comminge, after the Seaven Psalmes and Latenye sayed, which whensoever she came to him, ere he fell in talke of any worldlye matters, he used accustomably to say with her, amonge other communicacion he sayed unto her, I beleeve, Megge, that they that have put me here weene they have done me a high displeasure. But I assure thee one my faythe, my owne good daughter, yf it had not beene for my wife and you that be my children, whome I accompte the cheife parte of my chardge, I woulde not have fayled longe ere this to have closed myselfe in as strayghte a roome, and a strayghter too.[1] But since I am come heyther withoute myne owne desarte, I truste that Godde of his goodnes will dischardge me of my care, and with his gratious helpe supplie my lacke amonge you. I fynd no cause, I thanke, God, Megge, to reckon my selfe in worse case here then in my owne house ; for me thinkethe Godde makethe me a wanton,[2] and settethe me on his lappe and dandlethe me. Thus by his gratious demeanour in tribulacion appeared it, that all the trouble that ever chanced unto him, by his patiente sufferance therof, were to him no paynfull punishments, but of his pacience profittable exercises. And at another tyme, when he had first questioned withe my wife awhile of the order of his wife and children, and state of his house in his absence, he asked her howe Queene Anne did. In faythe, father, quothe she, never better. Never better, Megge, quothe he ; alas, Megge, alas, yt pittiethe me to remember into what miserye, poore sowle, she shall shortly come.[3] After

[1] *I.e.* in a monastic cell—More always had leanings towards monastic life.

[2] God is treating me too fondly.

[3] Both Anne Boleyn and her sister Mary had been the King's mistresses. Anne was secretly married to Henry early in 1533. In

this, Maister Leiftenante commynge into his chamber to visitt him, rehersed the benifitts and frendshippes that he had many wayes receyved at his handes, and howe muche bounden he was therfore frendly to enterteyne him, and make him good cheere; which since the case standing as it did he coulde not doe without the Kinges indignacion, he trusted, he sayed, he would accepte his good will, and such poore cheere as he had. Maister Leiftenante, quothe he agayne, I verylye beleve as you may, soe are you my good frende indeede, and woulde, as you saye, with your best cheere enterteyne me, for the which I most hartely thank you; and assure yourselfe, Master Leiftenant, I doe not mislike my cheere; but whensoever I soe doe, then thrust me out of your doores.

Wheras the oath confirminge the Supremacie and Matrimonye was by the first Statute in few wordes comprised, the Lord Chauncellor and Master Secretarye[1] did of theire owne heddes add more wordes to it, to make it appere unto the Kinges eares more pleasante and plausible, and that oathe soe amplified, caused they to be ministred unto Sir Thomas Moore, and to all other throughout the realme. Which Sir Thomas Moore perceyving, sayed unto my wife, I maye tell thee, Megge, they that have committed me hither for refusinge of this oathe not agreeable with the Statute, are not by their owne lawe able to justifie myne imprisonment; and surely, daughter, it is greate

1536 a commission began to investigate charges against Anne of incest with her brother, and of adultery with four others. A tribunal of twenty-six peers (her father was one, and her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, was president) found her guilty, and she and the accused men were all executed. Nothing is certainly known of Anne's guilt or innocence; but since a weighty tribunal that included near relatives unanimously found her guilty, and since, of the six persons concerned (Anne, her brother, and the four others), four made on the scaffold what were regarded as confessions of guilt, while the other two (Anne and Norris) made no protestations of innocence, the case against her certainly seems strong.

[1] *I.e.* Audley and Cromwell.

pittye that any Christian prince should by a flixible councell readye to followe his affections, and by a weake clargye lackinge grace constantly to stande to their learninge, with flatterye to be soe shamfully abused. But at the length, the Lord Chauncellour and Maister Secretary, espying their owne oversighte in that behalfe, were fayne afterwardes to fynde the meanes that another statute[1] should be made for the confirmacion of the oathe soe amplyfied withe theire additions.

After Sir Thomas More had given over his office, and all other worldly doinges therwithe, to thentent he might from thenceforthe the more quietlye settle himselfe to the service of God, then made he a conveyance for the disposicion of all his landes, reservinge to himselfe an estate therof only for terme of his owne life; and after his decease assuringe some part of the same to his wife, some to his sonnes wife for a joynture in consideracion that she was an inheritrixe in possession of more then an hundred pounds lande by the yere, and some to me and my wife in recompense of our marriage monye, with divers remaynders over; all which conveyance and assurance was perfectly finished longe before the matter wherupon he was attaynted was made an offence, and yet after by statute clearlye avoyded. And soe were all his landes that he had to his wife and children by the said conveyance in such sorte assured, contrary to the order of lawe taken awaye from them and broughte into the

[1] The Act regulating the succession was passed in March, 1534. It declared the marriage with Catherine to be null, and the marriage with Anne to be lawful. The oath of loyalty demanded not only obedience to the Act of Succession, but also that every Englishman individually should abjure all oaths and allegiance to any foreign authority, prince, or potentate. In November, 1534, the Act of Supremacy reinforced the principle of the oath, and declared the Sovereign to be the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England. To this Act was attached another, making it treason to deny the Supremacy. See further the Introduction.

Kinges handes, savinge that porcion which he had appoynted to my wife and me. Which althoughe he had in the foresayed conveyance reserved, as he did the reste, for terme of life to himselfe, never the lesse upon further consideracions, two dayes after, by another conveyance, he gave the same immediatlye to my wife and me in possession. And soe because the statute had undone onely the firste conveyance, giving noe more to the Kinge but soe much as passed by that, the seconde conveyance, wherby it was given to my wife and me, beinge dated twoe dayes after, was without the compasse of the statute, and soe was our porcion to us by that meanes cleerly reserved.

As Sir Thomas More in the Tower chanced one a tyme,[1] lookinge oute at his windowe, to behoulde one Maister Reynoldes, a religious, learned, and vertuous father of Sion, and three moonkes of the Charterhouse,[2] for matters of the Matrimonye and Supremacy going out of the Tower to execution, he, as one longinge in that journeye to have accompanied them, sayed unto my wife, then standinge there besides him, Loe, dost thou not see, Megge, that these blessed fathers be nowe as cherfullye goinge to their deathes as bridgroomes to their marriages? Wherfore therby mayest thou see, myne owne good daughter, what a greate difference ther is betweene suche as have spente in effecte all their dayes in a strayght, hard, penetentiall, and paynefull life, religiouslye; and suche as have in the worlde, like worldly wrecches, as thy poore father hathe donne, consumed all their tyme in pleasure and ease licensially. For God, consideringe their longe continued life in most sore and greavous penaunce, will noe longer suffer them to remayne here in this vale of miserie and iniquitie, but speedelye hence takethe them to the fruission of his everlasting deitye. Wheras thy

[1] May, 1535.
[2] Haughton the Prior, Webster, and Lawrence.

sillye[1] father, Megge, that lyke a most wicked caytiffe, hath passed forthe the whole course of hys miserable life most sinfully, God, thinkinge him not worthye soe soone to come to that eternall felicitye, leaveth him here yet still in this worlde further to be plaged and turmoyled with miserye. Within a while after, Maister Secretary comminge to him into the Tower from the Kinge, pretended muche frendshippe towardes him, and for his comforte, told him that the Kinges highnes was his good and gratious lorde, and mynded not any matter wherin he should have any cause of scruple from thenceforthe to trouble his consciens. As soone as Maister Secretary was gonne, to expresse what comfort he conceyved of his wordes, he wrote with a cole, for inke then he had none, these verses followinge:

Ey flatteringe Fortune,[2] *looke thou never soe fayre,*
Nor never soe pleasantly begynne to smyle,
As thoughe thou wouldest my ruine all repayre,
Duringe my life thou shalte not me beguyle.
Trust shall I God, to enter in a while,
His haven of heaven sure and uniforme.
Ever after thy calm, looke I for a storme.[3]

When Sir Thomas More had contynued a good while in the Tower, my ladye, his wyfe, obteyned lycens to see him. Who, at her first cominge, like a simple ignorante woman, and somwhat worldly too, with this manner of salutacion bluntlye saluted him: What the good yeere,[4] Maister Moore, quothe shee,

[1] Simple, frail.

[2] Flattering the eye, and so deceptive.

[3] This stanza (which has usually been incorrectly printed) is given in Rastell's folio, under the title "Lewys the Lost Lover," as one of "two short ballettes" which Sir Thomas More made for his pastime while in the Tower. The other, headed "Davy the Dycer," is a semi-humorous piece of rhyme, much inferior to the above, and hardly deserves quotation.

[4] A common exclamation.

I marveyle that you, that have beene alwayes hetherto taken for soe wise a man, will nowe soe playe the foole to lye here in this close filthye prisonne, and be contente thus to be shutt upp amongste myse and rattes, when you might be abroade at your libertie, and with the favour and good will bothe of the Kinge and his Councell, yf you woulde but doe as all the Bishoppes and best learned of this realme have donne. And seeynge you have at Chelsey a righte fayre house, your library, your bookes, your gallerye, your gardyne, your orcharde, and all other necessaryes so handsome aboute you, where you mighte in the companye of me your wife, your children, and houshold, be merrye, I muse what a Godds name[1] you meane here still thus fondlye[2] to tarry. After he had a while quietlye harde her, withe a chearfull countenance he sayed unto her: I praye thee, good Maistres Alice, tell me one thinge. What is that? quothe she. Is not this house, quothe hee, as nyghe heaven as myne owne? To whome shee after her accustomed homelye fashion, not likeing suche talke, answered, Tille valle, Tille valle.[3] Howe saye you, Maistres Alice, quothe he, is it not soe? Bone Deus, bone Deus,[4] man, will this geare never be lefte?[5] quothe shee. Well then, Maistres Alice, quothe he, if it be soe, it is very well; for I see no greate cause why I should much joye eyther of my gay house, or of any thinge belonging therunto, when if I shoulde but seaven yeres lye buried under the grownde and then arise and come hether agayne, I should not fayle to fynd some therin that would bidd me gett out of doores, and tell me it were none of myne. What cause have I then to like suche an house as

[1] A common exclamation.
[2] Foolishly.
[3] Yet another of good Dame More's exclamations.
[4] Where a modern person might say "good heavens."
[5] Will you never cease this sort of thing?

would soe soone forgett his master? Soe her perswasions moved him but a little.

Not longe after, came there to him the Lord Chauncellour, the Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, with Maister Secretary, and certaine other of the Privye Councell, at two severall tymes, by all pollisies possible procuring him eyther precislye to confesse the Supremacye, or precislye to denye it:[1] wherunto, as appereth by his examination in the sayed great booke,[2] they could never bringe him. Shortly hereuppon, Maister Riche, afterwards Lord Riche, then newly made the Kinges Solliciter, Sir Richard Southwell, and one Maister Pallmer, servaunt to the Secretarye, were sente to Sir Thomas More into the Tower to fetche awaye his bookes from him. And while Sir Richard Southwell and Maister Palmer were busye in the trussing uppe[3] of his bookes, Maister Riche, pretendinge frendly talke with him, amongst other thynges of a sett course, as it seemed, sayed thus unto him: Forasmuch as it is well knowen, Maister More, that you are a man both wise and well learned as well in the lawes of our realme as otherwyse, I praye you therfore, Sir, lett me be soe boulde, as of good will, to put unto you this case. Admitt there were, Sir, quothe he, an Acte of Parliament that all the realme should take me for Kinge, would not you, Maister More, take me for Kinge? Yes, Sir, quothe Sir Thomas More, that would I. I put the case further, quothe Maister Riche, that there were an Acte of Parliament that all the realme should take me for Pope; woulde not you then, Maister Moore, take me for Pope? For answer, Sir, quothe Sir Thomas More, to your first case, the

[1] By the Statute of November, 1534, it was treason to deny the King's supremacy. In practice this was interpreted to mean passive denial, *i.e.* a refusal to make a precise affirmation was held to be treason.

[2] The letters in Rastell's folio. [3] Making a bundle.

Parliament may well, Maister Riche, medle with the state of temperall princes; but to make aunswer to your other case, I will put you this case. Suppose that the Parliament would make a lawe that God shoulde not be God, woulde you then, Maister Riche, saye that God were not God? Noe Sir, quothe he, that would I not; sith noe Parliament maye make any suche lawe. Noe more, sayed Sir Thomas More, as Maister Riche reported of him, coulde the Parliament make the Kinge Supreme Heade of the Churche. Uppon whose onely report[1] was Sir Thomas More indited of treason upon the Statute wherby it was made treason to denye the Kinge to be Supreme Head of the Churche; into which inditement were put these haynouse[2] wordes, Maliciouslye, Trayterouslye, and Diabollicallye.

When Sir Thomas More was brought from the Tower to Westminster Hall to answere the inditement, and at the Kinges Benche barre before the Judges theruppon arreygned, he openly told them that he would upon that indictment have abiden in lawe, but that he therby shoulde have beene driven to confesse of himselfe the matter indeed, that was the deniall of the Kinges Supremacy, which he protested was untrue.[3] Wherefore he therto pleaded not guiltye, and so reserved unto himselfe advantage to be taken of the bodye of the matter after virdite to avoyde that inditement;[4] and moreover added, that if those only

[1] Upon the report alone. [2] Heinous.

[3] *I.e.* it was untrue to accuse him of having denied the King's supremacy at all, and specially untrue to allege that he had denied it maliciously, traitorously, and diabolically.

[4] The meaning is this: The "body of the matter" was whether the King was or was not Supreme Head of the Church. More was charged with "denying" the supremacy. By a perfectly justifiable legal quibble he pleaded "not guilty" of having denied it—*i.e.* although he had not taken the full oath, he certainly had never in any active sense "denied" the supremacy. By narrowing the charge down to this side issue, he gained this advantage: whatever verdict were given as to his "denial," the main point—whether in his opinion the king could or could not be Supreme Head of the Church—was avoided.

odyous termes, Maliciouslye, Trayterously, and Diabollicallye, were put out of inditement, he sawe therin nothinge justly to chardge him. And for profe to the Jurye that Sir Thomas More was guiltye of this treason, Maister Riche was called forthe to give evidence unto them upon his oathe, as he did. Agaynst whom thus sworne, Sir Thomas Moore beganne in this wise to saye: If I were a manne, my lordes, that did not regarde an oathe, I needed not, as is well knowen, in this place, and at this tyme, nor in this case, to stande here as an accused personne. And if this oathe of yours, Maister Riche, be true, then praye I that I never see God in the face, which would I not saye, were it otherwise, to wynne the whole world. Then recited he to the courte the discourse of all their communicacion in the Tower, accordinge to the truthe, and sayed, In good faythe, Maister Riche, I am sorier for your perjurye then for my owne perill, and you shall understande that neyther I, nor no man ells to my knowledge, ever took you to be a man of suche creditt as in any matter of importance I, or any other, would at any tyme vouchsafe to communicate with you. And I, as you well knowe, of noe small while have beene acquaynted with you and your conversacion, who have knowen you from your youthe hitherto, for we longe dwelled both in one parishe togeather, where, as your selfe canne tell, I am sory you compell me soe to saye, you were esteemed very lighte of your tonge, a great dicer, and of no commendable fame. And so in your house at the Temple, where hathe been your cheife bringinge uppe, were you likewise accompted. Canne it therfore seeme likely unto your honorable lordshippes, that I would, in soe wayghtye a cause, soe unadvisedlye overshoote my selfe as to trust Maister Riche, a man of me alwayes reputed for one of soe little truthe, as your lordshippes have harde, soe farre above my sovereygne lord the Kinge, or

any of his noble councellors, that I would unto him utter the secretts of my conscience touchinge the Kinges Supremacye, the speciall poynte and only marke at my handes soe longe soughte for. A thinge which I never did, nor never would, after the statute therof made, reveale eyther to the Kinges highnes himselfe, or to any of his honorable councellors, as it is not unknowen to your honors, at sondrye severall tymes sente from his graces owne person unto the Tower to me for none other purpose. Canne this in your judgment, my lordes, seeme likely to be true? And yet if I had so donne indeede, my lordes, as Maister Riche hath sworne, seinge it was spoken but in secret familier talke, nothing affirming, and only in puttinge of cases, without other displeasante circumstances, it cannot justly be taken to be spoken maliciouslye; and where there is noe malice, there canne be noe offence. And over this I canne never thinke, my lordes, that so many worthye Bishoppes, soe many honorable personages, and soe many other worshipfull, virtuous, wise, and well learned men as at the makinge of that lawe were in the Parliament assembled, ever mente to have any man punished by deathe in whome there coulde be founde no malice, takinge malitia for malevolentia;[1] for if malitia be generally taken for synne, noe man is there then that canne therof excuse himselfe. Quia si dixerimus quod peccatum non habemus, nosmet ipsos seducemus, et veritas in nobis non est.[2] And onlye this worde Malitiouslye is in the statute material, as this term Forceably is in the Statute of Forceable Entryes, by which statute, if a man enter peaceably, and put not his adversary out forceably, it is noe offence; but if he put him oute forceably, then by that statute it is

[1] *I.e.* taking "malice" to mean specific wickedness in this matter; for if it be taken to mean wickedness generally, then we are all guilty.

[2] For if we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. 1 John i. 8.

an offence, and soe he shalbe punished by this terme Forceably. Besides this, the manifold goodnes of the Kinges highnes himselfe, that hath beene so manye wayes my singuler good lord and gratious sovereygne, that hath deerly loved and trusted me, even at my very first cominge into his noble service with the dignitye of his honorable Privie Councell vouchsafinge to admitt me, and to offices of great credite and worshippe most liberallye advanced me; and fynally with that waighty roome of his graces high Chauncellour, the like wherof he never did to temperall man before,[1] next to his owne royall personne the highest officer in this whole realme, soe farr above my meritts or qualities able and meete[2] therfore, of his owne incomparable benignity honored and exalted me, by the space of twenty yeres and more, shewinge his contynuall favour towardes me, and, untill at mine owne poore suite it pleased his highnes, givinge me licens with his Majesties favour to bestowe the residewe of my life for the provision of my soule in the service of God, of his speciall goodnes therof to dischardge and disburthen me, most benignlye heaped honors continuallye more and more uppon me. All this his highnes goodnes, I saye, soe long thus bountifully extended towardes me, were in my mynde, my lordes, matters sufficient to convince this slanderous surmyse by this man soe wrongfullye imagined agaynst me. Maister Riche, seeinge himselfe soe disproved, and his creditt soe foullye defaced, caused Sir Richard Southwell and Maister Palmer, that at the tyme of their communicacion were in the chamber, to be sworne what wordes had passed betwene them. Wherupon Maister Palmer upon his deposicion sayed that he was soe busye aboute the trussinge uppe of Sir Thomas Mores bookes in a sacke, that he tooke noe heede to their wordes. Sir Richard Southwell likwise

[1] More was the first layman to be made Chancellor.
[2] Fit, suitable.

uppon his deposicion sayed that because he was appoynted only to looke unto the conveyance of Sir Thomas More his bookes, he gave noe eare unto them. After this were there many other reasons, not now in my remembrance, by Sir Thomas More in his owne defence alleadged, to the discredit of Maister Riches foresayed evidence, and profe of the cleernes of his owne conscience; all which notwithstandinge, the Jurye founde him guiltie. And incontinently upon their virdite the Lorde Chauncellour, for that matter Cheefe Commissioner, begynning to proceede in judgment agaynst him, Sir Thomas More sayed unto him, My Lord, when I was towardes the lawe,[1] the manner in suche case was to aske the prisoner before judgment, why judgment should not be given agaynst him. Wheruppon the Lord Chauncellour, stayinge his judgment, wherin he had partly proceeded, demanded of him what he was able to saye to the contrarye. Who then in this sorte most humbly made aunswer.

Forasmuch, my lorde, quothe he, as this inditement is grounded uppon an Acte of Parliament directly repugnant to the lawes of God and His Holy Churche, the supreme governement of which, or of any parte wherof, may noe temperall prince presume by any lawe to take uppon him, as rightfully belonginge to the Sea of Roome, a spiritual prehemynencye[2] by the mouthe of our Saviour Himselfe, personally present uppon the earth, only to St. Peter and his successors, Bishoppes of the same Sea, by speciall prerogatyve granted; it is therfore in lawe, amongst christian men, insufficient to chardge any Christyan man. And for profe therof, as amonge divers other reasons and auctorityes, he declared that like as this realme, beinge but one member and small part of the Churche, might not make a particular lawe disagree-

[1] *I.e.* when I was engaged in the law.
[2] Pre-eminence.

inge with the generall lawe of Christes Universall Catholike Churche, noe more then the Citty of London, beinge but one poore member in respecte of the whole realme, might make a law agaynst an Acte of Parliament to bynde the whole realme; so further showed he that it was contrarye bothe to the lawes and statutes of our owne lande yet unrepealed, as they might evidently perceyve in Magna Carta, Quod Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit, et habeat omnia jura sua integra, et libertates suas illaesas[1]; and also contrarye to that sacred oathe which the Kinges highnes himselfe, and everye other Christian Prince alwayes with greate solemnytye receyved at their coronacions; alleaginge, moreover, that no more mighte this realme of Englande refuse obedience to the Sea of Roome, then might the childe refuse obedience to his owne naturall father. For as St. Paule sayed to the Corinthians, I have regenerated you, my children in Christe; soe might St. Gregorye, Pope of Roome, of whome, by St. Augustyne his messenger, we first receyved the Christian faythe, of us Englishe men truly saye, You are my children, because I have given to you everlastinge salvacion, a farr higher and better inheritance than any carnall father canne leave to his childe, and by generation made you my spirituall children in Christe. Then was it by the Lorde Chauncellour therunto answered, that, seeinge all the Bishoppes, Universities, and best learned of the realme had to this Acte agreed, it was muche marveyll that he alone agaynst them all would so stiffly sticke therat, and soe vehemently argue theragaynste. To that Sir Thomas More replyed, sayinge, If the nomber of Byshoppes and Universities be soe materiall as your lordshippe seemethe to take it, then see I litle cause, my lord, why that thinge in my consciens shoulde make any change. For I nothinge doubte

[1] That the Church of England should be free, and should keep its law uncurtailed and its liberties unimpaired.

but that, thoughe not in this Realme, yet in Christendome about, of these well learned Bishoppes and vertuous men that are yet alive, they be not the fewer part that be of my mynde therin. But if I should speak of those which alreadye be dead, of whome many be nowe Holy Saints in heaven, I am very sure it is the farre, farre greater parte of them, that all the while they lived, thoughte in this case that way that I thinke nowe; and therfore I am not bounden, my lord, to conforme my conscience to the councell of one realme, agaynst the generall councell of all Christendome.

Nowe when Sir Thomas More, for the avoydinge of the inditement, had taken as manye exceptions as he thoughte meete, and many more reasons then I canne nowe remember alleadged, the Lorde Chauncellour, lothe to have the burthen of the judgment wholye to depende upon himselfe, there openly asked the advise of the Lord Fitzjames, then Lord Cheife Justice of the Kinges Benche, and joyned in commission with him, whether this inditment were sufficient or not. Who, like a wise man, answered; My Lordes all, by St. Julian, that was ever his oathe, I must needes confesse that if the Acte of Parliament be not unlawfull, then is not the inditement in my conscience insufficient. Wherupon the Lorde Chancellour sayed unto the rest of the lordes, Loe, my Lordes, loe, you here what my Lord Cheife Justice saythe; and immediatlye gave judgment agaynst him. After which ended, the Commissioners yet further courteously offered him, if he had anye thinge ells to alleadge for his defence, to grant him favorable audience. Who answered, More have I not to say, my Lordes, but that like as the blessed Apostell St. Paule, as we reade in the Actes of the Apostells, was presente and consented to the deathe of St. Steven, and kept their clothes that stoned him to deathe, and yet be they nowe bothe twayne Holy

Saints in Heaven, and shall continue there frendes for ever, soe I verily truste, and shall therfore right hartely praye, that thoughe your lordshippes have nowe here in earthe beene judges to my condemnacion, we may yet hearafter in heaven merilye all meete together to our everlastinge salvacion. Thus much touchinge Sir Thomas Mores arreygnment, being not therat present my selfe, have I by the credible reporte, partely of the Right Worshipfull Sir Anthony St. Leger, Knighte, and partly of Richard Heywoode and John Webbe, gentlemen, with others of good creditt at the hearinge therof presente themselves, as far as my poore witt and memorye would serve me, here truly rehersed unto you.

Nowe, after his arreygnment, departed he from the barre to the Tower agayne, ledde by Sir William Kingston, a tall, stronge, and comly knighte, Constable of the Tower, and his very deere frende. Who when he had brought him from Westminster to the Olde Swanne[1] towardes the Tower, there with an heavy harte, the tears runninge downe by his cheekes, bad him farewell. Sir Thomas More, seeing him so sorrowfull, comforted him with as good wordes as he could, saying, Good Maister Kingstone, trouble not your selfe, but be of good cheere ; for I will praye for you and my good ladye your wife, that we may meete in heaven togeather, wher we shalbe merrye for ever and ever. Soone after, Sir William Kingstone, talkinge with me of Sir Thomas More, sayed, In good faythe, Maister Roper, I was ashamed of myself that at my departing from your father I found my harte soe feeble and his soe stronge, that he was fayne to comforte me that should rather have comforted him. When Sir Thomas More came from Westminster to the Towerwarde[2] agayne, his daughter, my wife, desierous to see her father, whome she

[1] Still the name of a pier close to London Bridge.
[2] *I.e.* towards the tower.

thoughte she shoulde never see in this worlde after, and also to have his fynall blessing, gave attendance aboute the Tower Warfe, where she knewe he should passe by, before he coulde enter into the Tower. There tarryinge for his comynge home, as soone as she sawe him, after his blessinge upon her knees reverently receyved, she hastinge towardes him, and without consideracion or care of herself, pressing in amonge the middest of the thronge and companye of the guarde that with holberdes and billes went rounde aboute him, hastelye ranne to him, and there openly in the sight of them all, imbraced him, tooke him aboute the necke, and kissed him. Who well likinge her most naturall and deere daughterly affection towardes him, gave her his fatherly blessinge, and many godly wordes of comfort besides. From whome after she was departed, she, not satisfied withe her former sighte of him, and like one that had forgotten herselfe, beinge all ravished with the entyre love of her deere father, havinge respecte neither to her selfe, nor to the presse of the people and multitude that were aboute him, sodeynly turned backe agayne, ranne to him as before, tooke him aboute the necke, and divers tymes together most lovingly kyssed him; and at last, with a full heavye harte, was fayne to departe from him, the beholdinge wherof was to many of them that were presente therat, soe lamentable, that it made them for very sorrowe therof to mourne and weepe.

Soe remayned Sir Thomas More in the Tower more then a seavennighte after his judgmente.[1] From whence, the daye before he suffered, he sente his shert of heare, not willinge to have it seene, to my wife, his deerly beloved daughter, and a letter written with a cole, conteyned in the foresayed booke of his workes, playnly expressing the fervente desyre he had to suffer on the morrowe, in these wordes

[1] The trial took place July 1, 1535.

followinge. I comber[1] you, good Margreate, much, but I would be sorrye if it should be any longer then tomorrowe. For tomorrowe is St. Thomas Even, and the Utas of St. Peter,[2] and therfore tomorrowe longe I to goe to God. It were a daye very meete and convenient for me &c. I never liked your manner better then when you kissed me laste ; for I like when daughterly love and deere charitye hathe noe leysure to looke to worldly courtesey. And soe upon the next morrowe, beinge Tewsday St. Thomas Even, and the Utas of St. Peter, in the yere of our Lorde 1535, accordinge as he in his letter the daye before had wished, earlye in the morninge came unto him Sir Thomas Pope, his singular frende, on message from the Kinge and his Councell, that he should before nyne of the clocke the same morninge suffer deathe ; and that, therefore, forthewithe he should prepare himselfe therunto. Maister Pope, quothe he, for your good tydinges I most hartelye thanke you. I have beene alwayes muche bounden to the Kinges highnes for the benifitts and honors that he hath still from tyme to tyme most bountyfulle heaped upon me ; and yet more bounden am I to his grace for puttinge me into this place, where I have had convenient tyme and space to have remembrance of myne ende. And soe helpe me God, most of all, Maister Pope, am I bounden to his highnes that it pleasethe him soe shortly to rydd me out of the myseryes of this wretched worlde, and therfore will I not fayle earnestlye to praye for his grace, bothe here, and alsoe in another worlde. The Kinges pleasure is further, quothe Maister Pope, that at your execution you shall not use many wordes. Maister Pope, quothe he, you doe well to give me

[1] Cumber, trouble.

[2] The Octave, *i.e.* the corresponding day in the next week after a great Church Festival. Thus St. Peter's day being June 30, the octave of St. Peter is July 6, the day was also the eve of the Translation of St. Thomas Becket.

warninge of his graces pleasure, for other wise, I had purposed at that tyme somewhat to have spoken, but of noe matter wherwithe his grace, or any other, shoulde have had cause to be offended. Nevertheless, whatsoever I intended, I am readye obediently to conforme myselfe to his graces commandment; and I beseeche you, good Maister Pope, be a meane to his highnes that my daughter Margreat may be present at my buriall. The Kinge is well content alreadye, quothe Maister Pope, that your wife and children and other your good frendes shall have libertye to be presente therat. Oh, howe much behoulden, then, sayed Sir Thomas More, am I to his grace, that unto my poore buriall vouchsafeth to have soe gratious consideracion. Wherwithall Maister Pope, takinge his leave of him, could not refrayne from weepinge. Which Sir Thomas More perceyvinge, comforted him in this wise: Quiet your selfe, good Maister Pope, and be not discomforted; for I trust that we shall once in heaven see eche other full merily, wher we shalbe sure to live and love togeather, in joyfull blisse eternally. Uppon whose departure, Sir Thomas More, as one that had beene invited to some solempne feaste, chaunged himselfe into his beste apparrell; which Maister Leiftenante espyinge, advised him to put it off, sayinge that he that should have it was but a javill.[1] What, Maister Leiftenante, quothe he, shall I accompte him a javill that shall doe me this day so singuler a benefitt? Nay, I assure you, were it clothe of goulde, I woulde accompte it well bestowed upon him, as St. Ciprian did, who gave his executyoner thirtye peeces of golde. And albeit, at lengthe, through Maister Leiftenantes importunate perswasion, he altered his apparell, yet after thexample of that Holy Martire St. Ciprian, did he, of that litle money that was left him, sende one Angell of gold to his executioner. And soe was

[1] A common fellow,

he by Maister Leiftenante brought out of the Tower, and from thence led towardes the place of execution. Wher, goinge up the scaffold, which was soe weake that it was readye to fall, he sayed merily to Maister Leiftenante, I praye you, Maister Leiftenante, see me safe uppe, and for my cominge downe let me shifte for myselfe. Then desired he all the people theraboute to praye for him, and to bare witnes with him that he shoulde nowe there suffer deathe, in and for the faythe of the Holy Catholicke Churche. Whiche donne, he kneeled downe; and, after his prayers sayed, turned to the executioner, and with a cheerfull countenance spake thus unto him: Plucke uppe thy spiritts, manne, and be not affrayde to doe thyne office; my necke is very shorte, take heede therfore, thou strike not awrye for savinge of thine honesty. Soe passed Sir Thomas More out of this worlde to God, upon the verye same daye in which himselfe had most desired. Soone after whose death intelligence came therof to the Emperour Charles. Wherupon he sente for Sir Thomas Elliott, our Englishe Embassadour, and sayed unto him: My Lord Embassadour, we understand that the Kinge your maister hath put his faythefull servante, and grave wise councellor, Sir Thomas Moore, to death. Wherunto Sir Thomas Elliot answered he understood nothinge therof. Well, sayed the emperour, it is too true; and this will we saye, that if we had beene maister of suche a servante, of whose doinges our selfe have had these many yeres noe small experience, we woulde rather have lost the best cittye of our dominions, then have loste such a worthye councellor. Which matter was by the same Sir Thomas Elliott to my selfe and my wife, to Maister Clemente and his wife, to Maister John Heywood and his wife, and unto divers others his frendes accordingly reported.

LETTERS WRITTEN BY SIR THOMAS MORE TO HIS DAUGHTER MARGARET ROPER WHILE HE WAS A PRISONER IN THE TOWER; WITH CERTAIN OTHER LETTERS.

LETTER I. SIR THOMAS MORE TO MARGARET ROPER.

WHEN I was before the lordes at Lambeth,[1] I was the first that was called in, albeit that maister doctour the vicar of Croidon[2] was come before me, and divers other. After the cause of my sending for, declared unto me (whereof I somewhat mervailed in my mind, considering that they sent for no mo temporall men[3] but me) I desired the sight of the othe, which they shewed me under the great seale. Than desired I the sight of the act of the succession,[4] which was delivered me in a printed rol. After which redde secretly by my self, and the othe considred with the acte, I shewed unto them, that my purpose was not to put any faute, either in the acte or any man that made it, or in the othe or any man that sware it, nor to condempne the conscience of any other man. But as for my selfe in good fayth my conscience so moved me in the mater, that though I would not deny to swere to the succession, yet unto that othe that there was offred me, I could not swere without the jubard-

[1] The Commissioners appointed to receive the oath: Cromwell, Cranmer, Audeley the Chancellor, and others. More was summoned April 13, 1534.

[2] Rowland Phillips, Canon of St. Paul's. More gives (a few lines lower) an amusing account of his boisterous manner. This is the man who, as the marginal note tells us, was tremendously eager to be made first Bishop of Utopia.

[3] No more laymen—*i.e.* More was the only layman present.

[4] The Act of March, 1534. The words of the oath were not prescribed by the Act, but were framed by the Commission.

ing [1] of my soule to perpetual dampnacion.[2] And that if they doubted whither I did refuse the othe onely for the grudge of my conscience, or for any other fantasy, I was redy therein to satissfy them be mine oth.[3] Which if they trusted not, what should they be the better to give me any othe. And if they trusted that I would therein swere true, than trusted I that of their goodnes they would not move me to swere the othe that they offred me, perceiving that for to swere it, was against my conscience. Unto this my lord chaunceller saide, that they all were verye sorye to here me saye thus, and se me thus refuse the othe. And they sayde all, that on thyre faythe I was the very fyrst that ever refused it: which would cause the kinges highnes to conceve great suspicion of me and great indignacion toward me. And therwith they shewed me the roll, and let me se the names of the lordes and the commons which had sworne and subscribed their names alredy.[4] Which notwithstanding when they saw that I refused to swere the same my self, not blaming any other man that had sworne, I was in conclusion commaunded to goe downe into the gardein. And thereuppon I taried in the olde burned chambre that loketh into the gardein, and would not goe downe because of the heate. In that time saw I mayster doctour Lattemer come into the gardein, and there walked he with divers other doctours and chapleins of my lorde of Canterburye. And very mery I saw him, for he laughed, and toke one or twaine aboute the nekke so handsomely, that if they had ben women, I would have went [5] he had ben waxen wanton. After that came maister doctour Wilson

[1] Jeoparding, endangering.

[2] The oath required the complete repudiation of any foreign authority, *e.g.* the Pope.

[3] *I.e.* he was ready to swear loyalty to the Act of Succession in so far as it made disposition of the Crown.

[4] These subscribers were all members of Parliament.

[5] Weened, thought.

forth from the lordes, and was with twoo gentilmen brought by me, and gentilmanly sent streight unto the towre. What time my lord of Rochester[1] was called in before theim, that can I not tell. But at night I hard that he had ben before them, but where he remained that night, and so forthe till he was sent hither, I never hard. I hard also that maister vicare of Croydon, and all the remenant of the priestes of London that were sent for, wer sworne: and that they had such favour at the counsels hande, that they were not lingered, nor made to dance any long attendance to their travaile and coste, as sutours were sometime wont to be, but were spedde a pace to their gret comfort: so farre forth that maister vicar of Croidon, either for gladnes or for drines,[2] or els that it might be sene, Quod ille notus erat pontifici,[3] went to my lordes buttry barre, and called for drinke, and dranke valde familiariter.[4] Whan they had plaied their pageant, and were gone out of the place, than was I called in againe. And than was it declared unto me, what a nomber had sworne ever sins I went aside, gladly without any sticking. Wherein I laid no blame in no man, but for mine own self aunswered as before. Now as well before as than, they somewhat laide unto me for obstinacye, that wheras before, sith I refused to swere, I would not declare any speciall part of that othe that grudged my conscience, and open the cause wherefore. For thereunto I had said unto them, that I fearid least the kinges highnes woulde as they sayde, take displeasure inough toward me for the only refusel of the othe.[5] And that if I should open and disclose the causes why, I should therwith but further exasperate hys highnes, which I woulde in no whise do, but rather wold I abyde all the daunger and harme that might come toward me,

[1] Bishop Fisher. [2] Dryness.
[3] That he was on familiar terms with the Archbishop.
[4] "Mighty familiarly," as one might say colloquially.
[5] For refusal of the oath alone, without adding other cause of anger.

than gyve hys highnes any occasion of further displeasure, than the offring the othe unto me of pure necessitie constrained me. Howbeit when they divers times imputed this to me for stubbernes and obstinacy, that I would neither swere the othe, nor yet declare the causes why, I declined thus farre toward them, that rather than I would be accompted for obstinate, I wold upon the kinges gracious licens, or rather his such commaundement had,[1] as might be my sufficient warrant, that my declaracion should not offend his highnes, nor put me in the daunger of anye of hys statutes, I would be content to declare the causes in writing, and over that to give an othe in the beginning that if I might find those causes by any man in such wise aunswered, as I might thinke mine own conscience satisfied, I would after that with all mine hart swere the principal othe to. To this I was aunswered, that thoughe the kinge woulde give me licens under his letters patent, yet wold it not serve against the statute. Whereto I said, that yet if I had them, I wold stand to the trust of his honour at my parel[2] for the remenaunt. But yet thinketh me loe, that if I maye not declare the causes without perill, than to leave them undeclared is no obstinacye. My lord of Canterburye taking hold upon that that I saide, that I condempned not the consciences of them that sware, said unto me that it aperd well, that I did not take it for a very sure thing and a certaine, that I might not lawfullye swer it, but rather as a thing uncertain and doubtfull. But than (said my lorde) you knowe for a certenty and a thynge without dout, that you be bounden to obey your soverain lorde your king. And therefore are ye bounden to leave of[3] the dout of your unsure consciens in refusing the othe, and take the sure waye in obeiyng of your prince and swere it. Now al was it so, that in mine own mind me

[1] His commandment received to this effect. [2] Peril.
[3] To stay, or stop.

thought my self not concluded, yet this argument semed me sodenly so suttle, and namely with such authorite coming out of so noble a prelates mouth, that I could againe aunswere nothing thereto but only that I thought my self I might not well do so, because that in my consciens thys was one of the cases in which I was bounden that I shoulde not obey my prince, syth that whatsoever other folke thought in the matter (whose consciens or learning I would not condempne nor take uppon me to judge). Yet in my consciens the trouth semed on the tother side. Wherein I had not enformed my consciens neither sodenly nor sleightlye, but by long leisour and diligent searche for the matter. And of trouth if that reason may conclude, than have we a readye way to avoide all parplexities. For in whatsoever matter the doctours stand in gret doubt, the kinges commaundement given upon whither side he list, foyleth all the doutes.[1] Than saide my Lorde of Westminster to me, that how soever the matter semed unto mine owne minde, I had cause to fere that mine owne minde was erroniouse, when I se the gret counsail of the realme determine of my mind the contrary, and that therefore I ought to change my consciens. To that I aunswered, that if there were no mo but my selfe upon my side, and the whole parlement upon the tother, I woulde be sore afraid to leane to my owne minde only againste so many. But on the other side, if it so be, that in some thinges for which I refuse the othe, I have as I thinke I have, upon my part as great a counsail and a greater to, I am not than bounden to change my consciens, and conforme it to the counsail of one realme against the general counsaile of Christendome. Upon this maister Secretary as he that tenderly favoreth me, saide and swere a gret

[1] What More suggests here as preposterous, was urged seriously by Hobbes. Truth, he tells as in effect, is that which the Government of the day would have us believe.

othe, that he had lever that his own onely sonne (which is of trouth a goodly yong gentilman, and shall I trust come to much worship) had lost his hedde, than that I should thus have refused the oth. For surely the kinges hyghnes woulde now conceive a great suspicion against me, and think that the matter of the nonne of Canterburye was all contrived by my drift. To which I saide that the contrary was true and well knowen. And whatsoever shoulde mishappe me, it laye not in my power to helpe it without the perill of my soule. Then did my Lorde chauncellour repete before me my refusell unto maister Secretarye, as to hym that was going unto the kinges grace. And in rehersing, his lordship repeted again, that I denied not but was content to swere unto the succession. Whereunto I sayde, that as for that pointe I woulde be content, so that I might se my othe in that pointe so framyd in suche a manner as might stand with my consciens. Than said my lord: Mary,[1] maister Secreteyre marke that to, that he will not swere that neyther, but under some certaine manner. Verely no my Lorde, quoth I, but that I wyll see it made in suche wyse fyrst, as I shal my selfe se, that I shall neyther be forsworne, nor sware agaynste my conscience. Surely as to sware to the succession I see no perill. But I thought and thinke it reason that to mine owne othe I looke well my selfe, and be of counsayle also in the fassion, and never entended to swere for a pece, & set my hande to the whole othe.[2] Howbeit as helpe me God, as towching the whole othe, I never withdrewe any man from it, nor never advised any to refuse it, nor never put, nor wil put any scruple in anye mannes hedde, but leave everye manne to hys own conscience. And me thynketh in good faith that so were it good reason that every man shoulde leave me to myne.

[1] The familiar exclamation: "By Mary," or "Marry."

[2] *I.e.* he would not swear a part of the oath and find that he had sworn the whole.

LETTER II. SIR THOMAS MORE TO MARGARET ROPER, WRITTEN WITH A COAL.

MYNE own good doughter, our lorde be thanked I am in good helthe of bodye, and in good quiet of minde: and of worldly thynges I no more desyer then I have. I beseche hym make you all mery in the hope of heaven. And such thynges as I somewhat longed to talke with you all, concerning the worlde to come, our Lorde put theim into your myndes, as I trust he dothe, and better to, by his holy spirite: who blesse you and preserve you all. Written wyth a cole by your tender loving father, who in hys pore prayers forgetteth none of you all, nor your babes, nor your nurses, nor your good husbandes, nor your good husbandes shrewde[1] wyves, nor your fathers shrewde wyfe neither, nor our other frendes. And thus fare ye hartely well for lacke of paper.

Thomas More knight.

Our Lorde kepe me continuallye true faithfull and playne, to the contrarye whereof I beseche hym hartelye never to suffer me live. For as for longe life (as I have often tolde the Megge) I neyther looke for, nor long for, but am well content to goe, yf God call me hence to morowe. And I thanke our lorde, I knowe no person living, that I woulde had one philippe[2] for my sake: of whiche minde I am more gladde then of all the worlde besyde.

Recommend me to your shrewde wil,[3] and mine other sonnes, and to John Harris my frende, and your selfe knoweth to whome els, and to my shrewde wife above all, and God preserve you all and make and kepe you his servantes all.

[1] Used in a pleasant sense several times in this letter.
[2] Insignificant trouble.
[3] William Roper, Margaret's husband.

LETTER III. SIR THOMAS MORE TO MARGARET ROPER.[1]

OUR lorde blisse you. If I had not ben my derely beloved doughter at a firme and fast point, I truste in goddes greate mercy this good great while before, your lamentable letter had not a litle abashed me, surely farre above al other thynges, of which I heare divers times not a fewe terrible towarde me. But surely they all touched me never so nere, nor were so grevous unto me, as to se you my wel-beloved childe, in such vehement piteous maner, labour to parswade unto me, the thing wherin I have of pure necessitie for respect unto myne owne soule, so often given you so precise aunswere before. Wherein as touching the pointes of your letter, I can make none aunswere. For I dout not but you well remembre, that the matters which move my conscience, (without declaracion whereof I can nothing touche the pointes) I have sondry times shewed you that I will disclose theim to no man. And therefore doughter Margaret, I can in this thing no further, but like as you labour me againe to folow your mind, to desire and praye you both againe, to leave of[2] such labour, and with my former aunsweres to holde your selfe content. A deadly grief unto me, and much more deadly than to here of mine own death, (for the fere thereof, I thanke our lorde, the fere of hell, the hope of heaven, and the passion of Christ dailye more and more aswage) is, that I perceive my good sonne your husband, and you my good doughter, and my good wyfe, and mine other good children and innocent frendes, in gret dyspleasure, and daunger of great

[1] Margaret's letter was written, not with the intention of shaking More's faith, but as a means of gaining Cromwell's favour, that she might get free and frequent access to her father.

[2] To stop.

harme thereby. The let[1] whereof while it lyeth not in my hand, I can no further but commit all to god. Nam in manu dei (saieth the scripture) cor regis est, et sicut divisiones aquarum quocunque voluerit impellit illud.[2] Whose hyghe goodnes I most humbly besech to enclyne the noble hart of the kinges highnes to the tender favour of you al, and to favour me no better than god and my self know that my faithfull hart toward hym and my daily praiour for him, do deserve. For surely if his highnes might inwardlye se my true minde suche as god knoweth it is, it wold (I trust) sone aswage his high displesure. Which while I can in this world never in such wise shew, but that his grace may be parswaded to beleve the contrarie of me, I can no further go, but put all in the handes of him for fere of whose displeasure for the savegard of my soule stirred by mine owne conscience, (without insectacion[3] or reproche laieing to anye other mans) I suffer and endure thys trouble. Out of which I beseche him to bringe me, when his wil shalbe, into his endles blisse of heaven, and in the meane while, give me grace and you both in al our agonies and troubles, devoutly to resorte prostrate unto the remembrance of that bitter agonye, which our saviour suffred before his passion at the mount. And if we diligently so do, I verely trust we shal find therein great comfort and consolacion. And thus my dere doughter the blessed spirite of Christe for hys tender mercy governe and guide you all, to his pleasure and your weale and comfortes, bothe bodye and soule,

Your tender loving father
Thomas More knight.

[1] Prevention.

[2] "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water: he turneth it whithersoever he will."—Prov. xxi. 1.

[3] Persecution.

LETTER IV. MARGARET ROPER TO SIR THOMAS MORE.[1]

MYNE owne good father; it is to me no little comfort, sith I cannot talk with you by such means as I wold, at the least way to delight my selfe among in this bytter tyme of your absens, by such meanes as I maye, by as often writing to you, as shalbe expedient, and by reading againe and againe your most fruitfull and delectable letter, the faithfull messenger of your verye verteous and ghostly minde, rid from all corrupt love of worldely thinges, and fast knitte onely in the love of god, and desire of heaven, as becommeth a very true worshipper and a faithfull servant of god, which I doute not, good father, holdeth his holy hand over you, and shall (as he hath) preserve you both body and soule (ut sit mens sana in corpore sano) and namely, nowe when you have abjected[2] all earthly consolacions, and resined your selfe willinglye gladly and fully for hys love to his holye proteccion. Farther what thinke you hath bene our comfort syns your departing from us? Surely the experiens we have had of your life past, and godly conversacion, and wholesome counsail, and vertuous example, and a surety not onely of the continuance of that same, but also a grete encrese by the goodnes of our lorde to the great reste and gladnes of your hart devoide of al erthly dregges, and garnished wyth the noble vesture of heavenly vertues, a pleasant palles for the holy spirite of God to rest in, who defende you (as I doute not good father but of his goodnes he wyll) from all trouble of minde and of body, and gyve me your moste loving obedient doughter and handmaide, and all us your children and frendes, to folow that that we praise in you, and to our onely

[1] In reply to the letter above.

[2] Cast down.

comforte remembre and comin together of you, that we may in conclusion mete with you, mine owne dere father, in the blysse of heaven to which our most mercifull lorde hathe bought us with his precious blood.

Your owne most loving obedient doughter and bedeswoman Margaret Roper, which desireth above all worldly thinges to be in John a woodes[1] stede to do you some service. But we live in hope that we shal shortly receve you againe. I pray god hartely we may, if it be his holy wil.

LETTER V. SIR THOMAS MORE TO ALL HIS FRIENDS, WRITTEN WITH A COAL.[2]

TO all my loving frendes. For as much as being in prison, I cannot tel what nede I may have, or what necessitie I maye happe to stand in, I hartely besech you all, that if my welbeloved doughter Margaret Roper (which onely of al my frendes hath by the kinges gracious favour licens to resort unto me) doe any thinge desire of any of you, of suche thinge as I shall hap to neede, that it may like you no lesse to regarde and tender it, then if I moved it unto you and required it of you parsonally present my self. And I beseche you all to pray for me, and I shall pray for you.

Your faithful lover and pore bedeman
Tho. More knight prisoner.

[1] John a Wood was More's servant, who was allowed to attend on him.

[2] Margaret at last gained permission to visit her father. By her he circulated this message to his friends.

LETTER VI. LADY ALINGTON[1] TO MARGARET ROPER.

SYSTER ROPER with all my heart I recommend me unto you, thanking you for all kyndnesse. The cause of my wrytynge at thys time is, to shew you that at my coming home, within ij howres after, my lord chauncellour did come to take a course at a bucke in our parke, the which was to my husband a greate coumfort, that it wold please him so to dooe. Then when he had taken hys pleasure and kilde his dere, he wente to syr Thomas Barnestons to bed: where I was the next day with him at his desyre, the which I could not say naye to, for me thought he dyd byd me heartelye: and most especially, because I would speake to him for my father. And when I sawe my tyme, I did desyre hym as humbly as I coulde, that he would (as I have heard say that he hath been) be still good lord unto my father. Fyrst he aunswered me that he woulde be as gladde to dooe for hym as for his father, and that (he sayd) did appeare very well, when the matter of the nonne[2] was layd to his charge. And as for thys other matter, he mervayled that my father is so obstinate in his owne conceite, in that that every bodye went furth withall, save onelye the blynde bysshoppe[3] and he. And in good faythe (sayde my lorde) I am very gladde that I have no learning, but in a fewe of Esopes fables, of the which I shal tel you one. Ther was a countrey in the which ther wer almoste none but fooles, saving a fewe whiche were wise, and they by theyr wisdom knew, that ther shold fall a great rayne, the which shoulde make all theym fooles, that

[1] Daughter of More's second wife; wife of Sir Giles Alington.
[2] *I.e.* the Holy Maid of Kent.
[3] John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.

shoulde be fowled[1] or met therwith. They seeyng that, made them caves under the ground till all the rayne was paste. Than they came furth, thinking to make the fooles dooe what they lyste, and to rule theym as they woulde. But the fooles woulde none of that, but woulde have the rule themselves for all theyr craft. And when the wyse men saw that they coulde not obteyn theyr purpose, they wished that they had been in the rayne, and had defoyled[2] theyr clothes with them. When this tale was tolde, my lord dyd laugh very merely.[3] Than I sayd to hym, that for al hys mery fable, I did put no doutes, but that he woulde be good lord unto my father when he sawe hys tyme. He sayde, I woulde not have your father so scrupulous of hys conscience. And then he tolde me another fable, of a Lyon, an Asse, and a wolfe and of theyr confession. Fyrst the Lyon confessed that he had devowred al the beastes that he could come by. His confessour assoyled hym,[4] because he was a king, and also it was his nature so to dooe. Than came the poore Asse, and sayde that he tooke but one strawe out of hys maisters shoe for hunger, by the meanes wherof he thought that his maister did take colde. Hys confessour coulde not assoile this great trespas, but by and by sent hym to the byshop. Than came the woolfe and made his confession, and he was straytly commaunded that he shoulde not passe vi pence at a meale. But when the sayde woolfe had used this dyet a little whyle, he waxed very hungry, in so much that on a day when he saw a cowe with her calfe come by him, he sayd to himselfe, I am very hungry, and fayne would I eate, but that I am bound by my gostly father. Notwithstanding that, my conscience shall judge me. And than if that be so, than shall my conscience be thus, that the cowe doth seme to me now but woorth

[1] Soiled, or wet by it.
[2] Defiled.
[3] Merrily.
[4] Absolved him.

a grote. And then if the cowe be but woorthe a grote, than is the calfe but woorth ij pence. So did the woolfe eate both the cowe and the calfe. Now my good sister, hath not my lorde tolde me ij prety fables. In good fayth they pleased me nothing, nor I wist not what to say, for I was abashed of this aunswer. And I see no better suite than to almightie god. For he is the comforter of all sorowes, and will not fayle to send his coumfort to his servauntes when they have most nede. Thus fare ye well mine own good sister. Written the monday after saint Lawrence in haste.

Your sister Alice Alington.

LETTER VII.—TO LADY ALINGTON.[1]

WHEN I came next unto my father after, me thoughte it both convenient[2] and necessary, to shew him your letter. Convenient, that he might thereby see your loving laboure taken for hym. Necessarye, that sith he might perceive therby, that if he stande still in this scruple of hys conscience, (as it is at the least wyse called by many that are his frendes and wyse) al his frendes that seme most able to dooe him good, either shall finally forsake him, or peradventure not be hable in dede to do him anye good at all. And for these causes, at my next being with him after your letter received, when I had a while talked with him, fyrst of his diseases both in his brest of olde, and his reynes[3] nowe, by reason of gravell and stone, and of the crampe also that dyvers nightes grypeth hym in his legges, and that I found by his woordes that they wer not much

[1] Whether thys aunswer wer writen by Syr Thomas More in his daughter Ropers name, or by her selfe, it is not certaynelye knowen.

[2] Fit, becoming.

[3] Kidneys, bladder.

encreased, but continued after theyr maner that they did before, sometime very sore and sometime little grief, and that at that time I found him out of payn, and as one in his case mighte, metelye[1] well minded, after oure vij Psalmes and the letany said, to sit and talke and be merye, beginning fyrst with other thinges, of the good coumfort of my mother, and the good order of my brother and all my sisters, disposing themself every day more and more to set litle by the world, and drawe more and more to God, and that his housholde, hys neighbors, and other good frendes abrode, diligently remembred him in their prayers, I added unto this: I pray god good father that theyr prayers and ours and your owne therwith, may purchase of god the grace, that you may in this great matter (for which you stand in this trouble, and for your trouble all we also that love you) take such a waye by time, as standing with the pleasure of god, may content and please the king, whom ye have alwaye founden so singularly gracious unto you, that if ye shoulde stifly refuse to doe the thing that wer his pleasure, which god not displeased you might do (as many great wise and well learned men say that in this thing you may) it wold both be a great blot in your woorship in every wise mannes opinion, and as my selfe have heard some say (such as your selfe have alway taken for well learned and good) a perill unto your soule also. But as for that point (father) wil I not be bolde to dispute upon, sith I truste in God and your good mynde that ye will looke surely therto. And your learning I know for suche, that I wot well you can. But one thing is ther which I and other your frendes fynd and perceive abrode, whiche but if it be shewed you, you may peradventure to your greate perill, mistake, and hope for lesse harm (for as for good I wot wel in this world of this matter ye looke for none) than I sore feare me,

[1] Properly.

shall be likelye to fall to you. For I assure you father, I have received a letter of late from my sister Alington, by whiche I see well that if ye change not your mind, you are likelye to lose al those frendes that are hable to do you any good. Or if ye leese not their good wils, you shal at the least wise lese the effect therof, for any good that they shalbe hable to dooe you. With this my father smyled upon me and saide: what maistres Eve (as I called you when you came first) hath my daughter Alington plaied the serpent with you, and with a letter set you a woorke to come tempte your father again, and for the favour that you beare him labour to make him sweare against his conscience, and so send him to the devil? And after that, he loked sadly agayne, and earnestly said unto me, Daughter Margaret, we two have talked of this thinge ofter than twyse or thrise. And the same tale in effect, that you tell me now therin, and the same feare too, have you twise told me before, and I have twise aunswered you too, that in this matter if it were possible for me to dooe the thing that might content the kinges grace, and god therewith not offended, ther hath no man taken this othe already more gladly than I would dooe: as he that reckoneth himself more diepelye bounden unto the kynges hyghnesse, for his most singular bountie, many wayes shewed and declared, than any of them all besyde. But sith standing my conscience I can in no wyse dooe it, and that for the instruction of my conscience in the matter, I have not sleightly looked, but by many yeres studied and advisedly considred, and never could yet see nor heare the thing, nor I thinke I never shal, that could enduce mine own mind to think otherwise than I do, I have no maner remedy, but god hathe geven me to that streight,[1] that either I must dedly displease him, or abide anye worldly harme that he shal for mine other sinnes, under name of this thyng, suffer to

[1] Strait, difficulty, distress.

fall upon me. Whereof (as I before thys have told you to[1]) I have ere I came here, not left unbethought nor unconsidered, the very worst and the uttermost that can by possibilitie fall. And albeit that I know mine own frailtie ful well, and the natural faintnes of mine own heart, yet if I had not trusted that god shold geve me strength rather to endure al thinges, than offend him by swearing ungodly against mine own conscience, you may be very sure I woulde not have come here. And sith I looke in this matter but only unto god, it maketh me little matter,[2] though men cal it as it please them, say it is no conscience but a foolish scruple. At this word I toke a good occasion, and said unto him thus: In good faith father for my parte, I neither doo, nor it cannot become me, either to mistrust your good minde or your learnyng. But because you speake of that that some calle it but a scruple, I assure you you shall see by my sisters letter, that one of the greateste estates in this realme,[3] and a man learned too, and (as I dare say your self shal thinke when you know him, and as you have already right effectuallye prooved him) your tender frend and very speciall good lord, accounteth your conscience in this matter, for a right simple scruple. And you may be sure he saith it of good mind, and lyeth no litle cause. For he saith, that where you say your conscience mooveth you to this, all the nobles of this realme, and almost all other men too, go boldly furth with the contrary, and sticke not thereat, save only your self and one other man:[3] whom though he be right good and very well learned too, yet would I wene[4] few that love you, geve you the counsayle against al other menne, to leane to his minde alone. And with this word I toke him your

[1] Two, *i.e.* Margaret and Lady Alington.
[2] It troubles me but little.
[3] John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.
[4] Yet I think that few who love you would give, etc.

letter, that he might see my wordes wer not fayned, but spoken of his mouth, whom he much loveth and estemeth highly. Therupon he read over your letter. And when he came to the end, he began it afresh and read it over again. And in the reading he made no maner haste, but advised it laisorly,[1] and pointed every word. And after that he pawsed, and than thus he said. Forsooth daughter Margaret, I find my daughter Alington such as I have ever found her, and I trust ever shal, as naturally minding me as you that are mine owne. Howbeit, her take I verely for mine own too, sith I have maried her mother and brought up her of a child as I have brought up you, in other thinges and in learning both, wherein I thanke God she fyndeth now some fruite, and bringeth her own up very verteously and well. Wherof god I thanke him hath sent her good store, oure lord preserve them, and sende her much joy of them, and my good sonne her gentle husbande too, and have mercye on the soule of mine other good sonne her fyrst: I am daily bedeman[2] (and so write her) for them all. In this matter, she hath used her self like her self, wisely and like a very daughter toward me and in the ende of her letter, geveth as good counsel as any man that wit hath wold wish, god geve me grace to folowe it, and god reward her for it. Now daughter Margaret as for my lord, I not only thinke, but have also found it, that he is undoutedly my singuler good lord. And in mine other busines concerning the sely nunne, as my cause was good and clere, so was he my good lord therin, and maister Secretary my good master too. For which I shall never cease to be faithful bedeman for them both, and daily doe I by my trouth, praye for them as I pray for my selfe. And whensoever it shold

[1] Deliberated it leisurely.

[2] I pray daily (a beadsman was really an endowed prayer-reciter; but generally the word is used of any faithful intercessor).

happen (which I trust in god shall never happen) that I be found other than a true man to my prince, let them never favor me neither of them both, nor of trouth no more it could become them to do. But in this matter Megge to tell the trouth betwene thee and me, my lords Esops fables do not gretly move me. But as his wisdom for hys pastime told them merely[1] to mine owne daughter,[2] so shal I for my pastime, aunswer them to thee Megge that arte mine other. The fyrst fable of the rayne that washte away al their wittes that stode abrode when it fell, I have heard oft ere this: It was a tale so often told among the kinges counsel by my lorde Cardinall when hys grace was chauncellour, that I cannot lightlye forgeatte it. For of trouth in times past when variance began to fall betwene the Emperour and the frenche king, in such wise that they were lykely and dyd in dede, fall together at warre, and that ther wer in the counsayle here sometime sundry opinions, in which some were of the mynde that they thoughte it wisedome, that we should sit stil and let them alone: but evermore against that way, my lord used this fable of those wyse men, that because they would not be washed with the rayn that shold make all the people fooles, went them self in caves, and hid them under the ground. But when the rayne had once made all the remenant fooles, and that they came out of theyr caves and wold utter their wisdome, the fooles agreed together agaynst them, and there all to bet[3] them. And so sayd his grace, that if we woulde be so wyse that we woulde sitte in peace whyle the fooles foughte, they woulde not fayle after, to make peace and agree and fall at length all upon us. I will not dispute upon hys graces counsayle, and I truste we never

[1] Merrily.
[2] Really, "my one daughter"—balanced later by "my other."
[3] Beat.

made warre but, as reason woulde. But yet this fable for hys parte, dydde in hys dayes help the king and the realme to spend manye a fayre penye. But that geare is passed, and hys grace is gone our lorde assoyle[1] his soule. And therefore shall I nowe come to thys Esopes fable, as my Lorde full merelye layde it furth for me. If those wyse menne, Megge, when the rayn was gone at theyr coming abrode, where they found all menne fooles, wished themselves fooles too, because they could not rule them, than semeth it that the foolysh rayne was so sore a showre, that even thorowe[2] the grounde it sanke into theyr caves and powred downe uppon theyr heades, and wette theim to the skynne, and made theim more nodies[3] than them that stoode abrode. For if they had had anye witte, they myght well see, that thoughe they had been fooles too, that thing wold not have suffysed, to make theim the rulers over the other fooles, no more than the tother fooles over them: and of so manye fooles all myght not be rulers. Now when they longed so sore to bere a rule among fooles, that so they so mighte, they would be gladde to leese[4] their witte and be fooles to, the foolishe rayne hadde washed them metely[5] well. Howe be it, to saye the trouth, before the rayne came, if they thoughte that all the remenaunte should turne into fooles, and than either were so foolishe that they woulde, or so madde to thinke that they shoulde, so fewe rule so many fooles, and hadde not so much wit, as to consider that there are none so unruly as they that lacke witte and are fooles, than were these wyse menne starke fooles before the rayne came. Howe be it daughter Roper, whome my Lorde here taketh for the wyse menne, and whome he meaneth to be fooles, I cannot verye well geasse, I cannot reade well suche ryddles. For as Davus saythe in Therence:

[1] Absolve, pardon. [2] Through.
[3] Fools. [4] Lose. [5] Sufficiently.

Non sum Oedipus. I may say you wot well: Non sum Oedipus sed Morus, which name of myne what it signifeyeth in Greke, I nede not tell you.[1] But I truste my lorde reckoneth me amonge the fooles, and so reckon I my self, as my name is in greke. And I finde I thanke God, causes not a fewe, wherfore I so should in very dede. But surelye among those that long to be rewlers, God and myne owne conscience clerely knoweth, that no man may truely noumber and reckon me. And I wene eche other mans conscience can tell himself the same, since it is so well knowen that of the kinges great goodnes, I was one of the greattest rewlers in thys noble realme, and that at myne owne great labour by his gret goodnes dyscharged.[2] But whomsoever my lord meane for the wyse men, and whomsoever his lordeshypp take for the fooles, and whomsoever long for the rule, and who so ever long for none, I beseche our lord make us all so wise as that we may everye man here so wiselye rule our self, in this tyme of teares, thys vale of miserye, thys symple wretched world (in which as Boece sayth,[3] one man to be prowde that he beareth rule over other men, is much like as one mouce wold be proude to beare a rule over other mice in a barne) god I say geve us the grace so wisely to rule our self here, that when we shall hence in hast to mete the great spouse we be not taken slepers, and for lacke

[1] Oedipus solved the riddle of the Sphinx, and saved Thebes from the toll of men demanded by the monster. Μωρός means a fool; and so More's punning sentence really means, "I am no riddle-solver, but a fool."

[2] *I.e.* at my own very earnest request, he allowed me to resign.

[3] Boëthius, the famous Roman statesman and philosopher (born towards end of fifth century, A.D.), resembled More in many ways. He was the most upright of governors; but being accused of treason to his Sovereign, Theodoric, he was imprisoned and executed. While in prison he wrote his famous treatise *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, which, though now known only to the curious, was for a thousand years one of the most popular books in Europe. Two notable English versions of it are King Alfred's and Chaucer's. The passage quoted occurs in Book II. (Prosa 6).

of light in our lampes, shyt out of heaven among the v. foolishe vyrgins. The second fable Marget semeth not to be Esopes. For by that the matter goeth all upon confession, it semeth to be fained since christendom began.[1] For in Grece before Christes daies they used not confession, no more the men than, than the beastes nowe. And Esope was a Greke, and died long ere Christ was borne. But what? who made it, maketh little matter. Nor I envy not that Esope hath the name. But surely it is somwhat to subtil for me. For whom his lordship understandeth by the lyon and the wolfe, which both twayn confessed themselfe of ravin and devowring of al that came to their handes, and the tone[2] enlarged his conscience at his pleasure in the construccion of his penance, nor whom by the good discrete confessor that enjoyned the tone a little penance, and the tother none at all, and sente the poore Asse to the bysshop, of all these thinges can I nothing tel. But by the foolishe scrupelous Asse, that had so sore a conscience, for the taking of a straw for hungar out of hys maisters shoo, my lordes other woordes of my scruple declare, that his lordshyp merely[3] meant that by me: signifying (as it seemeth by that similitude) that of oversight and folye, my scrupulous conscience taketh for a gret perilous thynge towarde my soule, if I should sweare this othe, which thing as his lordship thinketh, wer in dede but a tryfle. And I suppose well Margaret as you tolde me right now, that so thinke many mo besyde, as well spirituall as temporal, and that even of those, that for theyr learning and their vertue, my self not a little esteme. And yet albeit that I suppose this to be true, yet beleve I not even very surely, that everye man so thynketh that so saith. But though they did daughter, that

[1] *I.e.* since the story turns upon confession, it must belong to the Christian era.

[2] *I.e.* the one.

[3] Merrily.

would not make much to me,[1] not though I shoulde see my lorde of Rochester say the same, and sweare the oth himself before me too. For whereas you tolde me right now, that such as love me, wold not advyse me, that agaynst all other men, I should leane unto hys mind alone, verely daughter no more I dooe. For albeit that of very trouthe, I have hym in that reverent estimacion, that I reckon in this realm no one man, in wisdom, learning, and long approved vertue together, mete to be matched and compared with him, yet that in this matter I was not lead by him, very wel and plain appeareth, both in that I refused the oth before it was offred him and in that also that his lordship was content to have sworne of that oth (as I perceyved since by you when you moved me to the same) either somewhat more, or in some other maner than ever I mynded to doe. Verely daughter I never entend (God being my good lorde) to pynne my soule at another mannes backe, not even the best man that I know this day living: for I knowe not whither he may happe to cary it. Ther is no man living, of whom whyle he liveth, I maye make my selfe sure. Some may dooe for favour and some may doo for feare, and so might they carye my soule a wrong way. And some might hap to frame himselfe a conscience, and thinke that while he did it for feare, god would forgeve it. And some may peradventure thinke that they will repente and be shriven therof, and that so shall god remit it them. And some may be peradventure of the mind, that if they say one thing and thinke the whyle the contrary, god more regardeth their heart than their tonge, and that therfore their oth goeth upon that they thinke, and not upon that they say: as a woman resoned once, I trow daughter you wer by. But in good fayth Marget, I can use no such wayes in so great a matter: but lyke as if mine owne conscience

[1] *I.e.* "but even if they did, that would make no difference to me."

served me, I would not let to do it[1] though other men refused, so though other refuse it not, I dare not do it, mine owne conscience standyng agaynst it. If I had (as I tolde you) looked but lightly for the matter, I shold have cause to feare. But now have I so looked for it and so long, that I purpose at the least wyse to have no lesse regard unto my soule, than had once a poore honest man of the countrey, that was called Cumpanye. And with this, he told me a tale, I wene I can skant tell it you agayne, because it hangeth upon some tearmes and ceremonies of the law. But as farre as I can call to mind my fathers tale was this, that ther is a court belongyng of course unto everye fayre, to dooe justice in such thynges as happen within the same.[2] Thys courte hath a prety fond name, but I cannot happen on it:[3] but it begynneth with a pye, and the remenant goeth much like the name of a knyght that I have knowen I wis, and I trowe you too, for he hath been at my fathers ofte ere this, at such tyme as you wer there, a metely tall black man,[4] hys name was syr William Pounder. But tut let the name of the court go for thys once, or call it if ye will a courte of pye syr William Pownder.

A courte of Pypowdres

But thys was the matter loe, that upon a tyme, at suche a courte holden at Bartylmewe fayre, there was an eschetour[5] of London that had arested a man that was outelawed, and had seased hys goodes that he hadde brought into the fayre, tollyng hym out of the fayre by a trayne.[6] The man that was arested and hys goodes seased was a northern manne, whiche by his frendes made

[1] I would not hesitate to do it.

[2] The Court of Piepowder (or the Court of Dusty Feet—or Pedlars) was held at fairs and markets to administer rough justice on the spot in cases of dispute.

[3] Rather a silly name, but I cannot recall it.

[4] A fairly tall, dark man.

[5] A law-officer—originally appointed to take note of lapses of property to the Crown; and so a sort of distress officer.

[6] Carrying him away by means of his train or posse of men.

theschetour within the fayre to be arrested, upon an accion. I wot nere what, and so was he brought before the judge of the court of py syr William Pounder. And at the laste the matter came to a certayne ceremonye to be tryed by a quest of xij men, a jury as I remember they call it, or elles a perjury. Nowe had the clothman by frendshypp of the officers, founden the meanes to have all the quest almost, made of the northern men, such as had theyr boothes there standing in that fayre. Now was it come to the last daye in the after none, and the xij men had herd both the parties and theyr counsel tel their tales at the barre, and were fro the barre had into a place, to talke and common,[1] and agree upon their sentence. Nay let me speke better in my termes yet, I trow the judge geveth the sentence, and the questes tale is called a verdit. They wer skant come in together, but the northern men were agreed, and in effect all the tother too, to cast[2] our London eschetour. They thoughte ther neded no more to prove that he dyd wrong, than even the name of hys bare office alone. But than was ther among them as the devill wold, this honest man of another quarter, that was called Cumpany. And because the felowe semed but a fowle, and sate still and sayde nothing, they made no rekoning of hym, but sayd we be agreed now, come let us go geve our verdit. Than whan the powre felowe sawe that they made such hast, and his mind nothing gave him that way that theirs did (if their mindes gave them that way that they said) he prayde them to tary and talke upon the matter, and tell him such reason therin, that he might thinke as they did: and when he so shold do, he wold be glad to say with them, or els he sayde they must pardone him. For sith he had a soule of his own to kepe as they had, he must say as he thoughte for hys, as they must for theyrs. Whan

[1] Commune. [2] To give damages against.

they herd thys, they wer half angry with him. What good felow (quod one of the northern men) whare wonnes thou?[1] Be not we aleven here, and thou ne but one alone, and all we agreed? whereto shouldest thou sticke? what is thy name gude felow? Masters (quod he) my name is called Cumpany. Cumpany, quoth they, now by thy trouth gude felowe playe than the gude companion, come theron furth with us, and passe even for gude company. Wold god good maisters quoth the man agayn, that ther lay no more weight theron. But now when we shall hence and come before god, and that he shal send you to heaven for doing according to youre conscience, and me to the devill for dooyng againste myne, in passing at your request here for good company now, by god maister Dykonson (that was one of the northern mens names) if I shall than say to all you agayn, maisters, I went once for good company with you, which is the cause that I goe nowe to hell, play you the good felowes nowe agayn with me, as I went than for good companye with you, so some of you goe now for good company with me. Wold ye goe maister Dikonson? nay naye, by our lady, nor never one of you all. And therfore must ye pardon me from passing as you passe, but if[2] I thought in the matter as you doe, I dare not in such a matter pass for good company. For the passage of my poore soule passeth all good company. And when my father had told me thys tale, than sayde he ferther thus: I praye thee nowe good Margaret, tell me this, wouldest thou wishe thy poore father being at the lestwise somewhat learned, lesse to regard the peril of his soule than did there that honest unlearned man? I medle not (you wot wel) with the concience of any man, that hath sworne: nor I take not upon me to be theyr judge. But now if they doe well, and that theyr concience grudge them not, if I with my

[1] "What is the matter with you?" [2] Unless.

conscience to the contrary, shoulde for good company passe on with them and sweare as they doe, when all our soules hereafter shall passe out of this world, and stand in judgement at the barre before the high judge, if he judge them to heaven and me to the devil, because I did as they did, not thinking as they thought, if I shold than say (as the good man Cumpany sayd) Myne olde goode lordes and frendes, naming such a lord and such, yea and some bishoppes peradventure of suche as I love best, I sware because you sware, and wente that way that you went, doe likewyse for me now, let me not go alone, if there be any good felowshippe with you, some of you come with me: by my trouth, Marget I may say to the in secret counsayle, here betwene us twayn (but let it goe no ferther I beseche the heartely) I fynde the frendship of thys wretched worlde so ficle, that for any thing that I could trete or pray, that woulde for good felowshyp goe to the devill with me, amonge them all I wene should I not fynde one. And than by God Marget if ye thinke so too, best it is I suppose, that for any respecte of them, all were they[1] twyse as many moe as they be, I have my selfe a respecte to myne owne soule. Surely father quod I, without any scruple at all, you may be bolde I dare saye for to sweare that. But father, they that thynke you shold not refuse to sweare the thyng, that you see so manye so good menne and so well learned sweare before you, meane not that you shoulde sweare to beare theym felowshyp, nor to passe with theym for good coumpanye: but that the credence that you may with reason geve to theyr persones for theyr aforesayde qualities, shoulde well move you to thinke the oth such of it selfe, as every man maye well sweare withoute perill of theyr soule, if theyr own private conscience to the contrarye be not the lette: and that ye well oughte and have good cause to chaunge

[1] Even if they were.

your owne conscience, in confyrmynge youre owne conscience to the conscience of so many other, namely being such as you knowe they be. And syth it is also by a lawe made by the parlement commaunded, they thynke that you be upon the peryll of youre soule, bounden to change and refourme your conscience, and confyrme your owne as I sayd unto other mennes. Mary Marget (quod my father agayne) for the part that you playe, you playe it not muche amysse. But Margaret fyrst, as for the lawe of the lande, thoughe everye man beynge borne and inhabityng therein, is bounden to the keepinge in everye case upon some temporall payne, and in many cases upon payne of Goddes displeasure too, yet is there no manne bounden to sweare, that every lawe is well made, nor bounden upon the payne of Goddes dyspleasure, to perfourme any suche poynte of the lawe, as were in dede unlaweful. Of which maner kynd, that there maye suche happe to bee made in anye parte of chrystendome, I suppose no manne doubteth, the generall counsayle of the whole bodye of chrystendom evermore in that poynte excepte: which though it may make some thynges better than other, and some thynges maye growe to that poynte, that by another lawe they maye neede to be refourmed, yet to institute any thing in suche wyse to Goddes dysplesure, as at the making might not lawfully be perfourmed, the spirit of god that governeth his church, never hath yet suffred, nor never hereafter shall, hys whole catholike church lawfullye gathered together in a generall counsayle, as Chryste hathe made playne promises in scripture.[1] Now if it so happe, that in anye particuler parte of chrystendome, there be a lawe made, that be suche, as for some parte thereof some menne thinke that the law of god cannot beare it, and some other thinke yes, the thing being in suche maner in

[1] *I.e.* the voice of the Church in matters of faith is infallible.

question, that thorow divers quarters of chrystendom, some that are good men and cunning,[1] bothe of our owne dayes and before oure dayes thynke some one way, and some other of lyke learnynge and goodnesse thynke the contrarye, in thys case he that thinketh agaynste the lawe, neither maye sweare that lawe lawefullye was made, standynge hys owne conscience to the contrarye, nor is bounden upon payne of goddes displeasure to chaunge hys owne conscience therein, for anye particuler lawe made any where, other than by the generall counsayle, or by a general fayth growen by the woorkinge of god universally thorowe all christen nacions: nor other authoritie than one of these twayne (except speciall revelacion and expresse commaundement of God) sith the contrarye opinions of good menne and well learned, as I putte you the case, made the understandynge of the scryptures doubtefull, I can see none that lawefully maye commaunde and compell anye man to chaunge his own opinion, and to translate his own conscience from the tone syde to the tother. For an ensaumple of some such maner thinges, I have I trow before this time tolde you, that whither our blessed lady wer conceved in originall sinne or not, was sometime in great question amonge the great learned men of christendom. And whether it be yet decyded and determined by any generall counsayle, I remember not.[2] But this I remember well, that notwithstanding that the feaste of her concepcion, was then celebrate in the churche (at the least wyse in dyvers provinces) yet was holy S. Barnarde, whiche as his manifold bokes made in the lawde and prayse of our ladye dooe declare, was of as devoute affection towarde al thinges sowning[3] toward her commendacion, that

[1] Learned.

[2] The doctrine, often discussed, was not made *de fide* until 1854, when is was promulgated by a decree of Pius IX.

[3] Tending.

he thought might well be verifyed or suffered, as any man was livinge, yet I saye was that holye devoute manne, agaynste that part of her prayse, as appereth well by a pistle[1] of hys wherein he ryghte sore and with gret reason argueth ther against, and approuveth not the institucion of that feaste neither. Nor he was not of thys mynde alone, but many other wel learned menne with hym, and ryghte holy menne too. Nowe was there on the tother syde, the blessed holye byshop Saynte Anselme, and he not alone neither, but many well learned and verye verteous also with him. And they bee both twayne holye sayntes in heaven, and many moe that wer on eyther side. Nor neither parte was there bounden to chaunge theyr opinion for thother, nor for anye prouvinciall counsayle eyther. But like as after the determinacion of a well assembled general counsayle, everye manne had been bounden to geve credence that waye, and confirme theyr owne conscience to the determinacion of the counsayle generalle, and than all they that helde the contrarye before, were for that holdynge oute of blame, so if before suche decision a man had agaynst his own conscience, sworn to mayntayn and defend the other side, he hadde not fayled to offende God very sore. But marye if on the tother side a man wolde in a matter take a way by hymselfe upon his owne mynde alone, or with some few, or with never so many, agaynste an evident trouth appearynge by the common fayth of christendome, thys conscience is verye damnable. Yea, or if it be not even fullye so playn and evident, yet if he see but himselfe, with farre the fewer parte, thinke the tone way, agaynste farre the more parte of as well learned and as good, as those are that affyrme the thing that he thinketh, thinking and affyrminge the contrary, and that of such folke as he hath no reasonable cause wherefore he shoulde not in that matter suppose, that those

[1] Epistle.

which say they think against hys mynde, affyrme the thing that they saye, for none other cause but for that they so thynke in dede, thys is of verye trouthe a verye good occasion to move him, and ye-not to compell him, to conforme his mynde and cont science unto theyrs. But Margaret, for what causes I refuse the othe, that thyng (as I have often tolde you) I wil never shew you, neither you nor no bodye elles, excepte the kinges hyghnes should like to com-maund me. Whiche if hys grace did, I have ere this tolde you therein howe obedientlye I have sayde. But surelye daughter I have refused it and doe, for mo causes than one. And for what causes soever I refuse it, thys am I sure, that it is well knowen, that of theym that have sworne it, some of the best lerned before the othe geven them, sayde and playne affyrmed the contrarye, of some suche thinges as they have nowe sworne in the othe, and that upon theyr trouthe and theyr learninge than, and that not in haste nor sodaynely, but often and after greate diligence doone to seeke and fynde out the trouthe. That might be father (quod I) and yet since they myghte see more, I will not (quod he) dispute daughter Margaret against that, nor missejudge any other mannes conscience, whiche lyeth in theyr owne hearte farre out of my sighte. But thys will I saye, that I never hearde my self the cause of their chaunge, by any new further thinge founden of aucthoritie, than as farre as I perceive they hadde looked on, and as I suppose, verye well wayed before. Nowe of the selfe same thinges that they saw before, seme some otherwyse unto theym nowe than they did before, I am for their sakes the gladder a greate deale. But anye thing that ever I sawe before, yet at thys daye to me they seme but as they did. And therfore, though they maye dooe otherwyse than they mighte, yet doughter I maye not. As for suche thynges as some men woulde happelye saye, that I myghte with

reason the lesse regard their change, for anye saumple of theym to be taken to the change of my conscience, because that the kepyng of the princes pleasure, and the avoyding of hys indignacion, the feare of the losing of theyr worldlye substaunce, with regarde unto the discoumforte of theyr kindredde and theyr frendes, myght happe make some men either swere otherwise than they think, or frame theyr conscience a freshe to thinke otherwyse than they thoughte, anye suche opinion as thys is, will I not conceyve of theym. I have better hope of theyr goodnesse, than to thinke of theym so. For if suche thinges sholde have tourned theym, the same thynges hadde been likelye to make me dooe the same : for in good faythe I knewe fewe so faynte hearted as my selfe. Therfore will I Margaret by my will, thinke no worse of other folke in the thing that I knowe not, than I find in my self. But as I know well myne onely conscience[1] causeth me to refuse the othe, so will I truste in God, that accordinge to theyr conscience they have receyved it and sworne. But whereas you thynk Marget, that they bee so manye, moo than there are on the tother syde that thynke in this thynge as I thynke, surelye for your owne coumfort that you shall not take thoughte, thynking that your father casteth hym selfe awaye so lyke a foole, that that he woulde jeobarde the losse of hys substaunce, and peradventure his bodye, withoute anye cause why he so shoulde for peryll of hys soule, but rather hys soule in peryll thereby too, to thys shall I saye to thee Marget, that in some of my causes I nothing doubte at all, but that though not in this realme, yet in Chrystendome aboute, of those well-learned menne and vertuous that are yet alive, they be not the fewer part that are of my mynde. Besydes that, that it were ye wotte well possible, that some menne in thys realme too, thinke not so cleare the contrarye, as by

[1] My conscience alone.

the other received they have sworne to say. Nowe thus farre foorth I saye for them that are yet alyve. But goe me nowe to theym that are deadde before, and that are I trust in heaven, I am sure that it is not the fewer parte of them, that all the tyme whyle they lived, thoughte in some of the thinges, that way that I think now. I am also Margaret of this thing sure ynough, that of those holy doctors and sayntes, which to be with God in heaven long ago no good christen man douteth, whose bokes yet at this day remayn here in mens handes, there thoughte in some suche thynges as I thynke nowe. I say not that they thought al so, but surely such and so manye as will well appeare by their wryting, that I praye god geve me the grace that my soule maye folow theyrs. And yet I shewe you not all Marget that I have for my selfe in the sure discharge of my conscience. But for the conclusion daughter Margaret of all this matter, as I have often tolde you, I take not uppon me neither to dyffine nor dyspute in these matters, nor I rebuke not nor impugne any other mans dede, nor I never wrote, nor so muche as spake in any company, anye woorde of reproche in anye thing that the parlement hadde passed, nor I medled not with the conscience of any other man, that either thinketh or saith he thinketh contrarye unto myne. But as concerning mine owne selfe, for thy coumfort shal I say daughter to thee, that mine own conscience in this mater (I damne[1] none other mans) is such as may well stand with mine owne salvacion, thereof am I Megge as sure, as that is, god is in heaven. And therfore as for al the remenant, goodes, landes, and life both, (if the chance sholde so fortune) sith this conscience is sure for me, I verelye trust in God, he shall rather strengthe me to beare the losse, than agaynste thys conscience to sweare and putte my soule in peril, sith al the causes that I perceve move

[1] Condemn, judge.

other men to the contrary, seme not suche unto me as in my conscience make anye change. When he saw me sit with this very sadde, as I promise you sister my hearte was full heavye for the perill of his persone, for in fayth I feare not his soule, he smiled upon me and said: how now daughter Marget? what howe mother Eve? where is your mind nowe? sit not musing with some serpent in youre brest, upon some new perswasion, to offer father Adam the apple yet once agayne. In good fayth father quod I, I can no ferther goe, but am (as I trowe Cresede saith in Chaucer) comen to Dulcarnon even at my wittes ende.[1] For sith thensaumple[2] of so manyne wyse men, cannot in this matter move you, I se not what to say more, but if I should loke to perswade you with the reason that master Harry Pateson made. For he met one day one of our men, and when he had asked where you wer, and heard that you wer in the towre still, he waxed even angry with you and sayd: Why? what eyleth him that he wil not sweare? wherefore shoulde he sticke to swere? I have sworn the oth my self. And so I can in good faith go now no ferther neither, after so many wyse men whom ye take for no saumple, but if I should say like master Harry: why shold you refuse to swere father? for I have sworn my self. At this he laughed and sayde. That woord was like Eve too, for she offered Adam no woorse fruit than she had eaten her self. But yet father quod I by my trouth, I fere me very sore, that this matter will brynge you in merveilous heavy trouble. You know well that I shewed you, master Secretary

She toke the othe with this excepcion as farre as would stand with the law of god.

[1] Bk. III., 930, 931—

"I am, til God me bettré minde sende,
At Dulcarnon, right at my wittes end."

Pythagoras having discovered the geometrical truth that we know as Euclid I. 47, called it Dulcarnon (from Arabic "two-horned"). Hence the word is used to mean dilemma, perplexity, difficulty.

[2] The ensaumple—the example.

sent you word as your very frend, to remember, that the parlement lasteth yet. Margaret quoth my father, I thanke hym right hertely. But as I shewed you than agayn, I left not this geare unthought on. And albeit I knowe well that if they would make a lawe to doo me any harme, that law coulde never be lawfull, but that God shall I trust kepe me in that grace that concernyng my duetie to my prynce, no man shall dooe me hurte but if he doo me wronge (and than as I tolde you, thys is lyke a ryddle, a case in whiche a man may lese his head and have no harme) and not withstandyng also that I have good hope, that God shal never suffer so good and wyse a prince, in such wyse to requyte the long service of his true faythfull servaunte, yet sith there is nothynge unpossible to falle, I forgat not in thys matter, the counsell of Chryst in the gospell, that ere I shold begynne to buylde thys castell for the savegarde of myne owne soule, I shold sytte and rekon what the charge would be. I coumpted Marget full surely many a restles night, whyle my wyfe slept, and wente[1] I had slepte too, what peryll were possible for to falle to me, so farre furth that I am sure there can come none above. And in devisyng daughter therupon, I had a full heavy heart. But yet I thanke oure Lorde for all that, I never thought to change, though the very uttermoste shoulde happe me that my feare ranne upon. No father, (quod I) it is not lyke[2] to thinke upon a thynge that may be, and to see a thynge that shalbe, as ye shoulde (our Lorde save you) if the chaunce shoulde so fortune. And than shoulde you peradventure thynke, that you thinke not nowe, and yet than peradventure it woulde be to late. To late daughter (quod my father) Margaret, I beseche our Lord, that if ever I make suche a chaunge, it maye bee to late in dede. For wel I wotte the chaunge can not be good for my soule, that

[1] Thought. [2] It is not the same.

chaunge I saye that shoulde growe but by feare. And therefore I pray God that in thys world I never have good of such change. For so muche as I take harme here, I shall have at the least wise the lesse therfore when I am hence. And if it so were that I wiste well nowe, that I sholde faynte and falle, and for feare sweare hereafter, yet woulde I wyshe to take harme by the refusyng fyrst: for so shold I have the better hope for grace to ryse againe. And albeit (Marget) that I wot well my lewdenes[1] hath been suche: that I knowe my selfe well woorthye that god shoulde let me slippe, yet can I not but trust in hys mercifull goodnes, that as his grace hath strengthed me hetherto, and made me contente in my hearte, to leese good, lande, and lyfe too, rather than to sweare agaynst my conscience, and hath also putte in the kyng toward me that good and gracious mynde, that as yet he hath taken fro me nothing but my libertie (wherwith as helpe me god his grace hath doone me so great good by the spiritual profite that I trust I take thereby, that among all his great benefites heaped uppon me so thycke, I reckon upon my fayth my prisonment, even the very chief) I cannot I saye therfore mistruste the grace of God, but that eyther he shall conserve and kepe the king in that gracious mynde still, to doe me none hurt, or els if hys pleasure be, that for myne other synnes I shall suffer in suche a cause in sighte as I shall not deserve, his grace shal geve me the strength to take it pacientlye, and peradventure somewhat gladdely to, wherby his high goodnes shall (by the merites of his bitter passion joyned therunto, and farre surmounting in merite for me, all that I can suffer my selfe) make it serve for release of my payne in purgatorye, and over that for encrease of some rewarde in heaven. Mystruste him Megge will I not, though I fele me faynt. Yea and though I shoulde feele my feare

[1] Ignorance.

even at poynt to overthrowe me to, yet shall I remember howe Saynte Peter with a blaste of a wynde, beganne to synke for his faynt fayth, and shall doe as he did, call upon Christ and pray him to helpe. And than I truste he shall sette his holy hande unto me, and in the stormy seas, hold me uppe from drowning. Yea and if he suffer me to playe Sayncte Peter ferther, and to fall full to the grounde, and sweare and forsweare too, (whiche our Lorde for his tender passion kepe me fro, and let me leese if it so fall, and never wynne thereby :) yet after shall I trust that his goodnesse will caste upon me his tender pitteous eye, as he dyd upon Saynt Peter, and make me stande uppe agayne, and confesse the trouth of my conscience a freshe, and abyde the shame and the harme here of myne own faulte. And finally, Marget, thys wotte I verye well, that withoute my faulte he will not let me be loste. I shal therfore, with good hope, committe my selfe wholye to him. And if he suffer me for my fautes to perish, yet shal I than serve for a prayse of his justice. But in good fayth Meg, I trust that his tender pitie shal kepe my pore soule safe and make me commend his mercy. And therfore mine own good daughter, never trouble thy mind, for anye thyng that ever shall happe me in this worlde. Nothyng can come, but that that God wille. And I make me verye sure, that what soever that bee, seme it never so badde in sight, it shal in dede be the best. And with thys my good chylde I pray you heartely, be you and all your sisters, and my sonnes too, comfortable and servisable to your good mother my wyfe. And of youre good housbandes mindes I have no maner dout. Commende me to theym all, and to my good daughter Alington, and to all my other frendes, sisters, neces, nephewes, and alies,[1] and unto all our servauntes, man, woman, and chylde, and all my good neyghbours and oure acquayntance

[1] Relatives by marriage.

abrode. And I right heartely praye both you and them, to serve God, and be mery and rejoyce in hym. And if anything happe me that you would be lothe, pray to god for me, but trouble not your self: as I shall full heartely praye for us all, that wee maye meete together once in heaven, where we shall make merye for ever, and never have trouble after.

LETTER VIII. MARGARET ROPER TO SIR THOMAS MORE.

MYNE owne moste entierelye beloved father, I thynke my self never hable to geve you sufficiente thankes, for the inestimable coumforte my poore hearte received in the readyng of youre moste lovynge and godlye letter, representing to me, the cleare shynyng bryghtnesse of youre soule, the pure temple of the holy spirite of God, which I doubte not shall perpetuallye reste in you and you in hym. Father, if all the worlde hadde bee geven to me, as I be saved, it hadde bene a small pleasure, in comparison of the pleasure I conceived of the treasure of youre letter, whiche thoughe it were written with a cole, is woorthye in myne opinion to be wrytten in letters of golde. Father, what moved them to shytte you uppe againe, we can nothynge heare. But surelye I conjecture that when they considered that you wer of so temperate mind, that you were contented to abyde there all your lyfe with suche libertie, they thought it wer never possible to enclyne you to theyr will, excepte it were by restrayning you from the church, and the companye of my good mother youre deare wyfe and us youre chyldren and bedesfolke. But father this chaunce was not straunge to you. For I shal not forgeat howe you tolde us

when we were with you in the gardeyne, that these thinges wer like ynoughe to chance you shortlye after. Father I have manye tymes rehearsed to myne owne coumfort and dyvers others, your fashyon and wordes ye hadde to us when we were laste with you: for which I trust by the grace of god to be the better while I live, and when I am departed oute of this frayle lyfe, which I praye God I maye passe and ende in his true obedient service, after the wholesome counsayle and fruitful exaumple of living I have had (good father) of you, whom I pray god geve me grace to folowe: which I shal the better thorow the assistaunce of your devoute prayers, the speciall staye of my frayltie. Father I am sory I have no lenger laysure at this time to talke with you, the chief comfort of my life, I trust to have occasion to write again shortly. I trust I have your daily prayer and blessing.

Your most loving obedient daughter and bedeswoman Margaret Roper, which daily and howrely is bounde to pray for you, for whom she prayeth in this wise, that our lord of his infinite mercye geve you of hys hevenly comfort, and so to assist you with hys speciall grace, that ye never in any thing declyne from hys blessed will, but live and dye his true obedient servaunt. Amen.

LETTER IX. SIR THOMAS MORE TO MARGARET ROPER.

THE holy spirite of god be with you. If I woulde with my writinge (mine owne good daughter) declare howe much plesure and comforte your daughterlye loving letters were unto me, a pecke of

coales wolde not suffise to make me the pennes. And othere pennes have I (good Margaret) none here: and therfore can I wryte you no long processe, nor dare adventure good daughter to write often. The cause of my close keping again, dyd of likelyhed grow of my negligent and very playn true word which you remember. And verely whereas my mynde gave me (as I tolde you in the gardeyn) that some such thing wer likely to happen, so doth my mynde alway geve me, that some folke yet wene that I was not so poore as it appeared in the searche, and that it maye therfore happen, that eftsone ofter than once, some newe sodaine searches may happe to be made in every house of ours, as narrowly as is possible. Which thing if ever it so should hap, can make but game to us that know the trouth of my poverty, but if they fynd out my wyves gay gyrdle and her golden bedes. Howbeit I verely beleve in good faith, that the kynges grace of his benigne pittie wil take nothing from her.

I thought and yet thinke, that it may be that I was shet up again, upon some new causeles suspicion, growen peradventure upon some secret sinister informacion, whereby some folke happely thought, that there shold be found out against me some other greatter thinges. But I thanke oure lorde whensoever this conjecture hath fallen in my mind, the clearenes of my conscience hath made myne hearte hoppe for joy. For one thing am I very sure of hetherto, and trust in goddes mercy to be while I live, that as I have often sayd unto you, I shall for any thing toward my prince, never take gret harme but if I take gret wrong, in the sight of God I say, howe so ever it shall seme in the sight of men. For to the world, wrong may seme right sometyme by false conjecturing, sometime by false witnesses: as that good lord sayd unto you, which is I dare saye my very good lorde in hys mind, and sayd it of very good wil. Before the

world also, my refusing of this othe, is accounted an heyghnous offence, and my religious feare towarde god is called obstinacy toward my Prynce. But my lordes of the counsayle before whome I refused it, myght well perceive by the heavines of mine heart, appearing well in mo wayes than one unto them, that all stourdy stubbernes whereof obstinacye groweth, was very farre fro my mind. For the clearer profe wherof, sith they semed to take for one argument of obstinacie in me, that refusing the othe, I wold not declare the causes why, I offred with a full heavy hert, that albeit I rather wold endure al the payn and peril of the statute, than by the declaring of the causes, geve anye occasion of exaspiracion unto my moste dradde[1] soverayn lord and prince, yet rather than his highnes shoulde for not disclosing the causes, account me for stubburne and obstinate, I woulde upon such his gracious lycence and commaundement as should discharge me of his displeasure and peril of any statute, declare those poyntes that letted[2] my poore conscience to receve that othe : I woulde over that be sworne before, that if I sholde after the causes disclosed and declared, finde them so aunswered as my conscience shoulde thynke it selfe satisfyed, I would thereupon sweare the oth that I there refused. To this maister Secretary aunswered me, that though the kynges grace gave me such a licence, yet it could not discharge me againste the statutes, in saying anye thing that were by them uppon haynous paynes prohibited. In this good warning he shewed hymselfe my speciall tender frend. And now you see well Margarete, that it is none obstinacy to leave the causes undeclared, while I coulde not declare them without perill. But nowe is it accoumpted greate obstinacy, that I refuse the othe whatsoever my causes be, considering that of so manye wyser and better men, none stycketh therat. And maister Secretraye

[1] Dread. [2] Hindered.

of a greate zeale that he bare unto me, sware there before them a gret othe, that for the dyspleasure that he thoughte the kynges hyghnesse woulde beare me, and the suspicyon that hys grace woulde conceive of me, whiche woulde nowe thinke in hys mynde that all the nunnes busynesse was wrought and devysed by me, he hadde lever[1] than I should have refused the othe, that hys owne onely sonne (whiche is a goodlye young gentleman, of whome our lorde sent hym much joy) had hadde hys head stricken of. This woorde Margaret, as it was a merveilous declaracion of maister Secretaries great good mynde and favour towarde me, so was it an heavye hearynge to me, that the kynges grace my most drad soverayn lord, wer likely to conceive such high suspicion of me, and beare suche grievous indignacyon toward me, for the thyng, which without the danger and perill of my poore soule, lay not in my hande to help, nor doothe. Now have I heard since, that some say that this obstinate maner of mine, in styll refusing the oth, shal peradventure force and drive the kynges grace to make a ferther law for me. I cannot let[2] such a law to be made. But I am verye sure that if I dyed by such a lawe, I shoulde dye for that poynte innocent afore god. And albe it (good daughter) that I thinke, our lord that hath the heartes of kinges in hys hand, wold never suffer of his high goodnes, so gracious a prince, and so many honorable men, and so many good men as be in the parlement to make such an unlawfullaw, as that should be if it so missehapped, yet left I note that poynt unthoughte upon, but many times mo than one, revolved and cast in my minde before my coming hether, both that perill, and all other that might put my bodye in perill of death by the refusyng of this oth. In devysing wherupon, albeit (mine owne good daughter) that I founde my selfe (I crye god mercye) very sensuall, and my fleshe much more shrinking

[1] Rather. [2] *I.e.* I cannot prevent the making of such a law.

from payn and from death, than me thought in the part of a faythful christen man, in such a case as my conscience gave me, that in the saving of my body should stande the losse of my soule, yet I thanke oure lord, that in that conflict, the spirite had in conclusion the mastrye, and reason with help of faythe finallye concluded, that for to be put to death wrongfullye for doing wel (as I am very sure I doe, in refusing to swere against mine own conscience, beyng suche as I am not upon peril of my soule bounden to change whither my death should come without law, or by colour of a law) it is a case in which a man may lesse his head and yet have none harme, but in stede of harme inestimable good at the hand of god. And I thanke our lorde (Megge) synce I am come hither, I sette by death every daye lesse than other. For though a man leese of hys yeres in thys worlde, it is more than manifold recompensed by coming the sooner to heaven. And though it be a payne to dye whyle a man is in health, yet see I verye fewe that in sickenes dye with ease. And finallye, very sure am I that when so ever the tyme shall come, that may happe to come god wot howe soone, in whiche I should lye sicke in my death bed by nature, I shal than thinke that god had done much for me, if he had suffred me to dye before by the colour of suche a lawe. And therefore my reason sheweth me (Margaret) that it wer gret folye for me to be sorye to come to that death, which I woulde after wishe that I had died. Beside that, that a man may happe with lesse thanke of God, and more adventure of his soule, to dye as violentlye and as paynefullye by manye other chaunces, as by enemies or theves. And therfore myne owne good daughter I assure you (thanke be to God) the thinking of any such, albeit it hath grieved me ere thys, yet at thys day grieveth me nothyng. And yet I knowe well for all thys mine own frailtie, and that Saint Peter whiche feared it much lesse than

I, fel in such feare sone after, that at the word of a simple gyrle, he forsoke and forsware our saviour. And therefore am I not (Megge) so madde, as to warraunte my selfe to stand. But I shal praye, and I praye the myne owne good daughter to pray with me, that it maye please god that hath geven me this mynde, to geve me the grace to kepe it. And thus have I myne owne good daughter dysclosed unto you, the very secrete bottom of my mynd, referring the order thereof onely to the goodnes of god, and that so fully, that I assure you Margaret on my faythe, I never have prayde god to brynge me hence nor deliver me fro deathe, but referred all thing whole unto hys onelye pleasure, as to hym that seeth better what is best for me than my selfe dooth. Nor never longed I synce I came hether, to set my fote in myne owne house, for any desyre of or pleasure of my house: but gladlye woulde I sometime somewhat talke with my frendes, and specially my wife and you that pertein to my charge. But sith that god otherwyse disposeth, I commit you all wholy to his goodnes, and take dayly gret coumfort, in that I perceive that you live together so charitably and so quyetlye: I beseche our lorde continue it. And thus mine owne good daughter, putting you finally in remembraunce, that albeit if the necessitie so shoulde require, I thanke oure lorde in thys quiet and coumfort is mine hearte at this day and I trust in goddes goodnes so shall have grace to continue, yet (as I sayde before) I verelye truste that god shall so inspire and gouverne the kynges heart, that he shal not suffer hys noble hearte and courage, to requyte my true faythfull hearte and service, with such extreme unlawful and uncharitable dealing, only for the displesure that I cannot thinke so as other dooe. But his true subject wil I live and dye, and truely praye for him wil I, both here and in the tother world too. And thus mine own good daughter have me recommended

to my good beddefellowe and all my children, men, women, and all, with all your babes and your nursys, and al the maydes and all the servauntes, and all our kynne, and all our other frendes abrode. And I beseche our lorde to save them all and kepe them. And I pray you all pray for me, and I shall pray for you all. And take no thoughte for me whatsoever you shall happe to heare, but be mery in god.

LETTER X. SIR THOMAS MORE TO MARGARET ROPER.

THE holy spirite of god be with you. Your doughterly lovying letter, my derely beloved childe, was and is I faithfullye assure you, much more inward comforte unto me, then my penne can wel expresse you, for divers thyngs that I marked therein: but of al things most especially, for that god of his high goodnes geveth you the grace to consider, the incomperable difference, betwene the wretched estate of this present lyfe, and the welthy state of the lyfe to come, for them that dye in god, and to praye god in suche a good Christen fashion, that it may please hym (it dothe me good here to rehearse youre owne woordes) Of his tender pitie so firmely to reste our love in him, with litle regard of this world, and so to fle sinne and embrace vertue, that we maye saye wyth saint Paul, Mihi vivere Christus est et mori lucrum: Et illud, cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo.[1]

I beseche our lorde my dearely beloved daughter, this holesome prayer that he hath put in your mind, it may like him to geve your father the grace, daylye to remember and praye, and your selfe as you

[1] "For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain." And this, "I desire to depart and to be with Christ." Philippians i. 21 and 23.

have writen it, even so daily devoutlye to knele and praye it. For surely if god geve us that, he geveth us and wil geve us therewith, all that ever we can well wish. And therfore good Marget, when you pray it, pray it for us both: and I shall on my part the like, in such maner as it shall lyke oure Lorde to geve me poore wretche the grace, that lykewise as in this wretched worlde I have been very glad of your company and you of mine, and yet woulde if it myghte be (as naturall charitie bindeth the father and the chylde) so we may rejoice and enjoye eche others company, with our other kinsfolke, alies, and frendes, everlastynglye in the glorious blisse of heaven: and in the mene tyme, with good counsayle and prayer, ech help other thitherward. And where you write these woordes of youre selfe: But good father, I wretche, am farre farre farthest of all other from such poynt of perfeccion, our lord send me the grace to amend my lyfe, and continually to have an eye to myne ende, without grudge of death, whiche to them that dye in god, is the gate of a welthy lyfe, to whiche god of hys infinite mercy bring us all. Amen. Good father strength my frayltie with your devoute prayers. The father of heaven mote strength thy frailtie my good daughter, and the frailtie of thy fraile father too. And let us not doute but he so will, if we wil not be slacke in calling upon him therfore. Of my poore prayers suche as they be, ye may be bold to reckon. For christen charitie, and naturall love, and youre very daughterlye dealing, funiculo triplici, qui (ait scriptura) difficile rumpitur,[1] both bynde me and strayn me therto. And of yours I put as little doubte. That you feare your owne frayltie Marget, nothinge misliketh me. God geve us both twayn the grace, to dispayre of our owne self, and whole to depende and hang uppon the hope and

[1] With a threefold cord, which (saith the Scriptures) is not quickly broken. Ecclesiastes iv. 12.

strength of god. The blissed apostle saint Paule, found such lacke of strength in himself, that in his owne temptacion he was fain thrise to call and crye out unto god, to take that temptacion from him. And yet sped he not of his prayer, in the maner that he required. For god of his high wisdom, seing that it was (as himselfe saith) necessarye for him to kepe him from pryde, that els he mighte peradventure have fallen in, would not at his thrise praying, by and by take it from him, but suffred him to be panged in the payn and feare therof, geving him yet at the last this comfort against his feare of falling: Sufficit tibi gratia mea.[1] By which wordes it wel semeth, that the temptation was so strong (what soever kind of temptacion it was) that he was very feard of falling, thorowe the fieblenes of resistinge that he began to feele in himselfe. Wherto for his coumfort God aunswered: Sufficit tibi gratia mea: putting hym in suretie, that were he of himselfe never so fieble and faynte, nor never so likelye to fall, yet the grace of god was sufficient to kepe him up and make him stand. And our lord sayd ferther: Virtus mea in infirmitate perficitur.[2] The more weake that manne is, the more is the strength of God in his safegard declared. And so Saynt Paule saith: Omnia possum in eo qui me confortat.[3] Surely Megge a faynter hearte than thy fraile father hath, canst thou not have. And yet I verely trust in the great mercye of God, that he shal of his goodnesse so staye me with his holy hand, that he shal not finally suffer me to fall wretchedlye from hys favour. And the like truste (deare daughter) in his high goodnesse, I verely conceve of you. And so muche the more, in that ther is neither of us both,

[1] "My grace is sufficient for thee." 2 Corinthians xii. 9.
[2] "My strength is made perfect in weakness." *Ibid.*
[3] "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me." Philippians iv. 13.

but that if we call his benefites to minde, and geve him oft thankes for them, we may find tokens many, to geve us good hope, for all our manifold offences toward him, that his great mercy, when we wil hertely call therefore, shall not be withdrawen from us. And verely my dere daughter in this is my great comforte, that albeit I am of nature so shrinking from payne, that I am almost afeard of a philip,[1] yet in all the agonies that I have had, wherof before my coming hether (as I have shewed you ere this) I have had neither small nor few, with heavy fereful hert, forecasting all such perils and painfull dethes, as by any maner of possibilitie might after fall unto me, and in such thought lyen oft long restles and waking, while my wife had went[2] I had slept, yet in anye suche feare and heavye pensifenes (I thanke the mighty mercye of God) I never in my mynde entended to consent, that I would for the enduring of the uttermost, doe any such thing, as I should in myne owne conscience (for with other mennes, I am not a manne mete to take upon me to meddle) thinke to be to my selfe, such as shoulde dampnably cast me in the displeasure of god. And this is the least poynt that any man may with his salvacion com to, as farre as I can see, and is bounden if he see peril, to examine his conscience surely by lernyng and good counsaile, and be sure that his conscience be such as it may stande with his salvacion, or else reforme it. And if the matter be such, as both the partys may stand with salvacion, then on whither side his conscience fal, he is safe ynough before god. But that mine own, may stand with mine own salvacion, therof I thank our lord I am very sure. I besech our lord bring al partes[3] to his blisse. It is now my good doughter late. And therfore thus I commend you to the holy

[1] Fillip—*i.e.* a mere touch.
[2] Weened—thought.
[3] All sides in the contention.

trinitie, to gyde you, coumfort you, and direct you with his holy spirite, and all yours, and my wife with al my children and all oure other frendes.

Thomas More knyght.

LETTER XI. SIR THOMAS MORE TO MARGARET ROPER.

OUR Lorde blisse you. My derely beloved doughter, I doubt not but by the reason of the kinges counsellors resortyng hither, in this tyme in which (our Lorde be theyr comfort) these fathers of the charterhouse and maister Reynoldes of Sion be now judged to death for treason (whose matters and causes I know not) may happe to put you in trouble and feare of mind concerning me being here prisoner, speciallye for that it is not unlikely that you have harde that I was broughte also before the counsayle here my selfe, I have thought it necessary to advertise you of the very trouthe, to thende that you shoulde neyther conceyve more hope than the matter geveth, leste uppon another torne it myght agreve[1] your heavinesse ; nor more griefe and feare than the matter geveth on the tother syde. Wherefore shortly ye shall understand, that on the frydaye the laste daye of Aprill in the afternone, master Levetenaunt came in here unto me, and shewed me that master Secretarye woulde speake with me, Whereuppon I shyfted my gown, and wente out with master Levetenante, into the galery to hym, where I mette manye, some knowen, and some unknowne in the waye. And in conclusion commyng into the chambre where his mastershippe sat, wyth master Attorney, maister

[1] Aggravate.

Solicitor, master Bedyll and master doctor Tregonwell, I was offered to sitte downe with them, whiche in no wyse I woulde. Whereupon master Secretarye shewed unto me, that he doubted not, but that I had by suche frendes as hyther had resorted to me, sene the newe statutes made at the laste sittyng of the parlement.[1] Whereunto I aunswered: ye verely: Howe be it for as much as beyng here, I have no conversacion with any people, I thought it lytle nede for me to bestowe muche tyme uppon theym, and therefore I redelevered the boke shortly, and theffect of the statutes I never marked nor studyed to putte in remembraunce. Then he asked me whyther I hadde not redde the fyrste statute of them, of the Kynge beyng hedde of the churche. Whereunto I aunswerde, yes. Than his mastership declared unto me, that sythe it was nowe by acte of parlemente ordeyned, that hys highnes and his heyres be, and ever of right have been, and parpetuallye shoulde be, supreme head in the earth of the churche of Englande under Christ, the kinges pleasure was, that those of his counsayle, there assembled, shoulde demaunde myne oppinion, and what my mynd was therein. Whereunto I answered, that in good fayth I hadde wel trusted, that the kynges hyghnesse woulde never have commaunded anye suche question to be demaunded of me, consideryng that I ever from the beginning, well and truelye from tyme to tyme declared my mynde unto his highnesse: and since that time (I sayd) unto your mastershippe master Secretary also, bothe by mouth and by writyng. And now I have in good faith discharged my mynde of all suche maters and neither wyll dispute kynges titles nor popes: but the kinges true faithfull subject I am, and wil be, and dayly I praye for him, and all his, and for you al that are of his honourable coun-

[1] *I.e.* The Statute of Supremacy, with the Statute attached making it treason for any man to deny the Supremacy.

saile, and for al the realm. And otherwyse than this, I never entende to medle. Whereunto master Secretarye answered, that he thoughte this maner of answere should not satisfy nor content the kinges highnes, but that hys grace woulde exact a more full answere. And his mastership added thereunto, that the kinges highnes was a prince, not of rygour, but of mercye and pitie. And thoughe that he had found obstinacy at some time in any of his subjects, yet when he shold fynde them at any other tyme confyrmable and submytte them selfe, his grace woulde shewe mercye: and that concernyng my selfe, his highnesse woulde be gladde to see me take suche conformable wayes, as I myghte be abrode in the worlde agayne among other menne, as I have bene before. Whereunto I shortlye (after the inwarde affeccion of my minde) answered for a verye trouth, that I woulde never medle in the world agayn, to have the worlde geven me. And to the remenaunt of the matter, I aunswered in effect as before, shewyng that I had fullye determined with my selfe, neyther to study nor medle wyth anye matter of this worlde, but that my whole study should be, upon the passion of Christ, and mine owne passage out of this worlde. Uppon which I was commaunded to goo forth for a while, and after called in again. At which tyme master Secretarye sayd unto me, that though I wer a prisoner condemned to parpetual prison, yet I was not thereby discharged of myne obedyence and allegeaunce unto the kynges hyghnes. And thereuppon demaunded me, whither that I thought, that the kynges grace myght not exact of me such thinges as are conteined in the statutes, and upon lyke paines as he might uppon other men. Wherto I answered that I would not say the contrarye. Wherunto he sayde, that lykewyse as the kynges highnesse would be gracious to them he found conformable, so his grace would folowe the course of his lawes towarde

suche as he shal fynde obstinate. And his mastership said farther, that my demeanour in that matter was a thing, that of likelyhode made other so stiffe therein as they be. Whereto I aunswerde, that I geve no manne occasion to hold any poynt one or other, nor never gave anye manne advise or counsayle therein one way or other. And for conclusion I coulde no farther go, whatsoever payne should come therof. I am (quod I) the kinges true faythfull subjecte and daily bedesman and praye for his highnesse and all his and all the realme. I doo no bodye no harme, I say none harme, I thynke none harme, but wishe everye bodye good. And yf this be not ynoughe to kepe a manne alyve, in good fayth I longe not to lyve. And I am dyinge all readye, and have synce I came here, bene divers tymes in the case that I thoughte to dye within one howre. And I thanke owre Lorde I was never sorye for it, but rather sorye when I sawe the pange paste. And therefore my poore bodye is at the kynges pleasure. Woulde God my death might doo hym good. After this master Secretarye saide; well ye fynde no fault in that statute: fynde you anye in any of the other statutes after? Whereto I aunswerd, Sir, whatsoever thynge shoulde seme to me other than good, in anye of the other statutes or in that statute either, I woulde not declare what fault I found, nor speak thereof. Whereunto finally his mastership said ful gentily that of anye thyng that I had spoken, there shoulde no avauntage be taken. And whether he sayde farther that there was none to be taken, I am not well remembred. But he sayd that reporte should bee made unto the kinges highnes, and his gracious pleasure knowen. Whereuppon I was delivered agayne to master Levetenaunt, which was then called in. And so was I by master Levetenaunt brought agayn into my chamber. And here am I yet in such case as I was, neyther better nor worse. That that shall folowe lyeth in the hande of

god, which I beseche to put in the kynges graces mynde, that thing that may be to his high pleasure, and in mine, to minde onely the weale of my soule, with little regard of my body, and you with al yours, and my wyfe, and al my children, and all oure other frendes both bodily and ghostly hartely well to fare. And I pray you and them all pray for me, and take no thought whatsoever shall happen me. For I verely trust in the goodnes of god, seme it never so evyl to this worlde, it shall indede in another world be for the best.

Your loving father
Thomas More knyghte.

LETTER XII. SIR THOMAS MORE TO MARGARET ROPER.

OURE Lorde blesse you and all yours. Forasmuche (dearely beloved doughter) as it is likeli, that you eyther hath hard, or shortlye shall here, that the counsayle were here thys day, and that I was before theym, I have thoughte it necessarye to sende you woorde howe the matter standeth. And verely to bee short, I parceve little difference between this time and the last. For as farre as I can see, the whole purpose is, eyther to dryve me to say precisely the tone way, or elles precisely the tother. Here sate my lord of Canterbury, my lord chauncellour, my lord of Suffolke, my lord of Wilshyre, and maister Secretarye. And after my coming, maister Secretarye made rehearsall in what wyse he had reported unto the kinges hyghnes, what had been sayd by hys graces counsayle to me, and what had ben aunswered by me to them, at myne other being before them here last. Which thyng his maistership rehearsed in good fayth

very wel, as I knowledged, and confessed and hertely thanked him therfore. Wherupon he added therunto, that the kinges hyghnes was nothing content nor satisfyed with myne aunswer, but thought that by my demeanor, I had been occasion of much grudge and harme in the realme, and that I had an obstinate mind and an evill towarde him, and that my duetie was being hys subject (and so he had sent them nowe in hys name upon myne allegeaunce to commaunde me) to make a playne and a terminate aunswere, whether I thoughte the statute lawfull or not. And that I shold eyther knowledge and confesse it lawfull, that his highnes shoulde be supreme heade of the churche of Englande, or elles utter playnly my malignitie. Wherto I aunswered, that I had no malignitie, and therfore I could none utter. And as to the matter, I coulde none other aunswere make, than I had before made, whiche aunswere his maistership had there rehearsed. Very heavy I was that the kinges highnes shoulde have any such opinion of me. Howbeit if ther were one that had enformed his highnes, manye evill thinges of me that were untrue, to whiche hys highnes for the time gave credence I wold be very sory that he should have that opinion of me the space of one day. Howbeit if I wer sure that other shold come on the morowe, by whom his grace should know the trouth of myne innocency, I should in the meane whyle comfort my self with consideracion of that. And in lykewise nowe, though it be gret heavines to me, that his highnes hathe suche opinion of me for the whyle, yet have I no remedy to helpe it, but only to comfort my self with this consideracion, that I know very well that the tyme shall come, when God shall decleare my trueth toward his grace, before hym and all the worlde. And whereas it myghte happely seeme to be but a small cause of coumfort, because I might take harme here fyrste in the meane whyle, I thanked God that my case was such here in this

matter, thorowe the clearnesse of myne owne conscience, that though I myght have payne, I coulde not have harme. For a man maye in such a case lese his head and have none harm. For I was very sure, that I had no corrupt affection, but that I had alway fro the begynning truely used my self, looking fyrst upon god, and next upon the king, accordinge to the lesson that hys hyghnes tought me at my fyrst cumming to his noble service, the most verteous lesson that ever prince tought his servaunt. Whose highnes to have of me now such opinion, is my greate heavines. But I have no meane as I said to helpe it, but only comfort my self in the meane time with the hope of that joyfull day, in which my trouthe towarde hym shall well be knowen. And in this matter further I could not goe, nor other aunswer therto I coulde not make. To thys it was sayd by my lord chauncellour and master Secretary both, that the kyng might by his lawes compell me to make a plain answer therto, either the tone way or the tother. Wherto I answered that I would not dispute the kynges authoritie, what his highnes myght dooe in such a case. But I sayd that verely under correction, it seemed to me sumwhat hard. For if it so wer that my conscience gave me agaynste the statute (wherein how my conscience geveth me I make no declaracion) than I, nothing doing nor nothing saying agaynst the statute, it wer a very hard thing, to compell me to say, either precisely with it agaynste my conscience to the losse of my soule, or precisely against it to the destruction of my body. To this maister Secretary said, that I had ere this when I was chauncellour, examined heretikes and theves, and other malefactours, and gave me a great praise above my deserving in that behalf. And he sayd that I than as he thought, and at the leastwise bishops, did use to examine heretykes, whether they believed the Pope to bee head of the church, and used to compell them to mak

a precise answer therto. And why shoulde not than the kynge, sith it is a law made here that his grace is head of the churche here, compell men to aunswer precisely to the law here, as they dyd than concerning the Pope? I aunswered and sayde, that I protested that I entended not to defend my part, or stand in contencion. But I said ther was a difference betwene those two cases, because that at that tyme, as well here as elles where thorow the corps of christendome,[1] the popes power was recognised for an undouted thing: which semeth not lyke a thyng agreed in this realme, and the contrary taken for trueth in other realmes. Wherto maister Secretarye aunswered, that they were as well burned for the denying of that, as they be beheaded for the denying of this: and therefore as good reason to compell them to make precyse aunswere to the tone, as to the tother. Wherto I aunswered, that sith in thys case a man is not by a law of one realme so bound in hys conscience, where there is a law of the whole corps of christendom to the contrary in matter touching beliefe, as he is by a law of the whole corps, though there happe to be made in some place a law locall to the contrary, the reasonablenes or the unreasonablenes in byndyng a man to precyse aunswere, standeth not in the respect or difference betwene headdyng[2] and burnyng; but because of the difference in charge of conscience, the difference standeth betwene heading and hell. Much was there aunswered unto this, both by maister Secretary and my lorde chauncellour, over long to rehearse. And in conclusion they offered me an othe, by whiche I sholde be sworne to make true aunswer to such things, as shoulde be asked me on the kinges behalfe, concerninge the kynges owne persone. Wherto I aunswered, that verely I never purposed to swere any boke oth more while I lived. Than they sayd that I

[1] The whole body of Christendom.
[2] Beheading; and so two lines below.

was very obstinate if I would refuse that, for everye man doth it in the sterre chaumber[1] and every where. I sayd that was true: but I had not so litle foresighte, but that I might well conjecture what shoulde be parte of myne interrogatories; and as good it was to refuse theim at the fyrst, as afterward. Wherto my lord chauncellour aunswered, that he thoughte I geast trouth, for I should see them. And so they wer shewed me, and they were but twayn: the fyrst, whether I had seen the statute: the tother, whether I beleved that it were a lawfull made statute or not. Wherupon I refused the othe, and said ferther by mouth, that the fyrst I hadde before confessed: and to the second I would make none answer: which was the end of our communicacion, and I was therupon sent away. In the communicacion before, it was said that it was mervayled, that I stacke so much in my conscience, whyle at the uttermost I was not sure therin. Wherto I said, that I was very sure, that myne own conscience so enfourmed as it is, by suche diligence as I have so long taken therin, may stand with myne own salvacion. I medle not with the conscience of them that thinke otherwise. Every man suo damno stat aut cadit.[2] I am no mannes judge. It was also sayd unto me, that if I had as liefe bee out of the world as in it, as I had there sayde, why dyd I not than speake even playn out agaynst the statute? It appeared well I was not content to dye, though I sayed so. Wherto I answered as the trouth is, that I have not been a man of such holy living, as I myght be bolde to offer my self to death, lest God for my presumpcion might suffer me to fall: and therfore I put not my self forward but draw backe. Howbeit, if god draw me to it himself, than truste I in hys great mercy, that he shall not fayle to geve me grace and strength. In conclusion maister Secretarye sayde, that he lyked me this day

[1] Star Chamber. [2] Stands or falls by his own oath.

much woorse than he dydde the last tyme. For than he said he pitied me muche, and now he thought I meante not well. But God and I knowe both, that I meane well, and so I praye God doo by me. I praye you be, you and myne other good frendes, of good chere whatsoever falle of me, but pray for me, as I doo and shall for you and all of them.

Your tender loving father,
Thomas More knight.

LETTER XIII. SIR THOMAS MORE TO MARGARET ROPER.[1]

OURE Lorde blesse you good doughter, and youre good housbande, and youre lyttle boye, and all yours, and all my chyldren, and all my Goddechyldren, and all oure frendes. Recommende me whan ye maye, to my good doughter Cicily, whom I beseche oure Lorde to coumforte. And I sende her my blessyng, and to all her children, and praye her to praye for me. I sende her an handkercher: and god coumfort my good sonne her husbande.[2] My good doughter Daunce hathe the picture in parchemente, that you delyvered me from my ladye Coniers, her name is on the backeside. Shewe her that I hartelye praye her, that you maye sende it in my name to her agayne, for a token from me to praye for me. I lyke speciall wel Dorothe Coly,[3] I pray you be good unto her. I woulde wytte[4] whether thys be she that you wrote me of. If not yet I praye you bee good to the tother as you maye in her affliccion, and to my good doughter Joone Aleyn[5] too. Geve her I praye

[1] More's last letter written on the eve of his execution.
[2] Giles Heron. [3] Dorothy Coly. [4] I should like to know.
[5] This, it appears, was one of Margaret Roper's maids.

you some kynde aunswere, for she sued hither to me this day to pray you be good to her. I comber you good Margaret much, but I would be sory, if it should be any lenger than to morrow. For it is saint Thomas even and the utas of saint Peter: and therfore to morow long I to go to god: it were a day verye mete and convenient for me. I never liked your maner toward me better, than when you kissed me laste: for I love when doughterly love, and deere charitye, hath no laysure to loke to worldlye curtesy. Fare well my dere chylde, and pray for me, and I shall for you and all your frendes, that we maye merelye[1] mete in heaven. I thanke you for youre gret cost. I send now my good daughter Clement[2] her algorisme stone,[3] and I send her and my godsonne and all hers, gods blessing and myne. I praye you at time convenient reccomende me to my good sonne John More. I liked wel his naturall fashion.[4] Our lord blesse hym and his good wyfe my loving doughter, to whom I praye him to be good as he hathe greate cause: and that yf the lande of myne come to his hande, he breake not my wyll concernynge hys sister Daunce. And oure Lord blisse Thomas and Austen[5] and all that they shall have.

[1] Thus, at the last, even in the hour of farewell, appears this word, so characteristic of More.

[2] A girl (no relative) brought up with More's children.

[3] "Algorism," a word of Arabic origin, means "arithmetic." Thus, an "algorism stone" is doubtless what we should call a "slate."

[4] John More had also publicly begged his blessing when he came from judgment.

[5] His son's children.

APPENDIX

LATIN TEXT OF UTOPIA

Reprinted from the first edition (1516).

NOTE ON THE REPRINT OF THE LATIN TEXT

THE reprint of the Latin text follows the first edition (1516) *verbatim et literatim*, except in the following instances: the digraph æ has been printed ae wherever it occurs; all contractions have been expanded; and the following misprints have been corrected:

page 340,	l. 16, Hythlodeus	*for* Hythlodens
	l. 33 summa	,, snmma
,, 341,	l. 14, certamen	,, certamem
,, 344,	l. 5, armorum	,, armornm
,, 345,	l. 14, sermo	,, scrmo
,, 347,	l. 18, mandare	,, mandarc
,, 349,	l. 32, audiendarum	,, audicndarum
,, 351,	l. 7, reppererunt	,, reppercrunt
	l. 11, temere	,, temcre
,, 354,	l. 25, de	,, dc
,, 355,	l. 14, opera	,, opcra
	l. 25, esse	,, essc
,, 358,	l. 7, demum	,, demnum
,, 359,	l. 23, vero	,, vcro
	l. 38, Romanis	,, Romamis
,, 360,	l. 33, est	,, cst
,, 364,	l. 30, machinamentis	,, machimamentis
,, 369,	l. 27, vt	,, vr
,, 373,	l. 26 stagnans	,, stangnans
,, 397,	l. 4,inquiunt	,, inquiunt
,, 412,	l. 42, numen	,, numem

Where letters have been added they are enclosed in square brackets.

Libellus vere aureus nec

MINVS SALVTARIS QVAM FESTIuus de optimo reip. ſtatu, deq; noua Inſula Vtopia authore clariſſimo viro Thoma Moro inclytæ ciuitatis Londinenſis ciue & vicecomite cura M. Petri Aegidii Antuerpiēſis, & arte Theodorici Martini Aluſtenſis, Typographi almæ Louanienſium Academiæ nunc primum accuratiſſime editus.:.

Cum gratia & priuilegio.

HEXASTICHON ANEMOLII POETE

Laureati Hythlodei ex sorore nepotis in Vtopiam insulam.

Vtopia priscis dicta, ob infrequentiam,
Nunc ciuitatis aemula Platonicae,
Fortasse victrix, (nam quod illa literis
Deliniauit, hoc ego vna prestiti,)
Viris & opibus, optimisque legibus
Eutopia merito sum vocanda nomine.

Clarissimo D. Hieronymo Buslidio praeposito Ariensi, Catholici regis Caroli a consiliis Petrus Ægidius Antuerpiensis S. D.

Svperioribus hisce diebus ornatissime Buslidi misit ad me Thomas ille Morus: te quoque teste, cui notissimus est, eximium huius aetatis nostrae decus, Vtopiam insulam, paucis adhuc mortalibus cognitam, sed dignam imprimis quam vt plusquam platonicam omneis velint cognoscere, praesertim ab homine facundissimo sic expressam, sic depictam, sic oculis subiectam, vt quoties lego, aliquanto plus mihi videre videar, quam cum ipsum Raphaelem Hythlodeum (nam ei sermoni aeque interfui ac Morus ipse) sua verba sonantem audirem. Etiam si vir ille haud vulgari praeditus eloquentia sic rem exponeret, vt facile appareret eum non ea referre, quae narrantibus aliis didicisset, sed quae cominus hausisset oculis, & in quibus non exiguum tempus esset versatus, homo mea quidem sententia, regionum, hominum, & rerum experientia vel ipso vlysse superior, & qualem octingentis hisce annis nusquam arbitrer natum, ad quem collatus Vespucius nihil vidisse putetur. Iam praeterquam quod visa quam audita narramus efficacius, aderat homini peculiaris quaedam ad explicandas res dexteritas. Attamen eadem haec quoties Mori penicillo depicta contemplor sic afficior, vt mihi videar nonnunquam in ipsa versari Vtopia. Et hercle crediderim Raphaelem ipsum minus in ea insula vidisse per omne quinquennium quod illic egit, quam in Mori descriptione videre liceat. Tantum hic occurrit vndique miraculorum, vt ambigam quod primum, aut potissimum admirer, felicissimae memoriae fidem, quae tot res auditas duntaxat, pene ad verbum reddere potuerit. an prudentiam qui vulgo ignotissimos fontes, vnde omnia reipublicae vel oriuntur mala, vel oriri possent bona, sic animaduertit. an ora | tionis vim ac facultatem, qua tanta sermonis latini puritate, tantis dicendi neruis, tot res complexus est, praesertim vnus in tot publica simul & domestica negotia distractus. Verum haec omnia tu minus admiraris doctissime Buslidi, qui familiari etiam consuetudine penitus habes cognitum, homine maius ac prope diuinum hominis ingenium. In caeteris igitur nihil est, quod illius scriptis

queam adiicere. Tantum tetrastichum vernacula Vtopiensium lingua scriptum, quod a Mori discessu, forte mihi ostendit Hythlodeus apponendum curaui, praefixo eiusdem gentis alphabeto, tum adiectis ad margines aliquot annotatiunculis. Nam quod de insulae situ laborat Morus, ne id quidem omnino tacuit Raphael, quanquam paucis admodum, ac velut obiter attigit, velut hoc alii seruans loco. Atque id sane nescio quo modo casus quidam malus vtrique nostrum inuidit, siquidem cum ea loqueretur Raphael adierat Morum e famulis quispiam, qui illi nescio quid diceret in aurem, ac mihi quidem tanto attentius auscultanti, comitum quispiam clarius, ob frigus opinor: nauigatione collectum: tussiens: dicentis voces aliquot intercepit. Verum non conquiescam: donec hanc quoque partem ad plenum cognouero: adeo vt non solum situm insulae: sed ipsam etiam poli sublationem sim tibi ad vnguem redditurus: si modo incolumis est noster Hythlodeus. Nam varius de homine rumor adfertur: alii affirmant perisse in itinere: rursum alii reuersum in patriam: sed partim suorum mores non ferentem: partim Vtopiae desyderio sollicitatum: eo remigrasse. Nam quod huius insulae nomen nusquam apud Cosmographos reperiatur: pulchre dissoluit Hythlodeus ipse. Siquidem fieri potuit: inquit: vt nomen quo veteres sint vsi: postea sit commutatum: aut etiam illos hec fugerit insula: quando & hodie complures oriuntur terrae, priscis illis Geographis intactae. Quanquam quorsum attinet hic argumentis astruere fidem: cum Morus ille sit author? Caeterum quod is ambigit de aeditione: equidem laudo & agnosco viri modestiam. At mihi visum est opus modis om | nibus indignum, quod diu premeretur, & cum primis dignum: quod exeat in manus hominum: idque tuo potissimum nomine commendatum orbi: vel quod Mori dotes: ibi precipue sint perspectae: vel quod nemo magis idoneus: qui rectis consiliis iuuet rempublicam: in qua iam annis compluribus: summa cum laude versaris: tum prudentiae tum integritatis. Bene vale studiorum Mœcenas: & huius saeculi decus. An[t]uerpiae Anno M. D. XVI. Cal. Nouembris

Ioannes Palvdanvs Cassiletensis M. Petro Aegidio D. S.

Utopiam Mori tui simulque epigrammata legi. nec satis scio maiore ne cum voluptate an admiratione. felicem Britanniam quae nunc eiusmodi floreat ingeniis, vt cum ipsa possint antiquitate certare. Nos stupidos ac plusquam plumbeos: si ne tam vicinis quidem exemplis ad eam laudem capessendam

expergefieri possumus αἰσχρὸν σιωπᾶν inquit Aristoteles loquente Isocrate. At nobis turpe sit lucris tantum ac voluptatibus vacare. cum apud vltimos orbis Britannos, fauore benignitateque principum sic vigeat eruditio. Quanquam haec laus Graecorum & Italorum pene fuit propria, tamen habet & Hispania veterum aliquot splendida nomina quibus se iactat. habet Anacharsides suos effera Scythia. habet suum Dania Saxonem. habet suum Gallia Budaeum. Tot habet Germania literis celebres viros, tam multos eosque insignes habet Anglia. Nam quod de caeteris coniectandum est, si tamen praestat Morus primum iuuenis. deinde publicis ac domesticis negociis adeo distractus. postremo quiduis profitens citius quam literas. | Et soli nobis sat beati videmur, si probe prospectum sit cuticulae & arcae. Quin ipsi quoque excusso veterno ad hoc pulcherrimum certamen accingimur. in quo nec vinci turpe sit & vincere pulcherrimum. prouocant huc tot vndique exempla, prouocat huc optimus princeps Carolus penes quem nulli rei amplius est premium: quam eruditae virtuti, prouocat huc vnicus ille rerum bonarum omnium Mœcenas Ioannes Syluagius Borgondiae Cancellarius. Maiorem in modum te rogo doctissime Petre Aegidi vt cum primum licebit Vtopiam euulgandam cures quod quicquid ad rempublicam bene instituendam pertinet, in hac velut in speculo liceat cernere. Vtinam fiat vt quemadmodum illi nostram religionem accipere ceperunt: ita nos ab illis administrandae reipublicae rationem mutuemur. Id fortasse facile fieret: si Theologorum aliquot insignes & inuicti in eam insulam se conferant: Christi fidem iam suppullulantem prouecturi, simulque eius gentis mores & instituta ad nos deportaturi. Multum debet Vtopia Hythlodeo per quem innotuit indigna quae nesciretur. plus eruditissimo moro, cuius penicillo nobis tam scite depicta est. porro quod vtrique debentur gratiae, eius non minima pars tibi secanda est, qui & illius sermonem, & huius scriptum in lucem emiseris, non mediocri delectamento futurum omnibus, maiori fructui. Si modo diligenter expenderint singula. Meum animum sic excitauit Vtopia, vt iam olim a musis desuetus, denuo musas lacessiuerim, quam feliciter, tu iudicabis. Bene vale Petre Aegidi candidissime, bonorum studiorum & fautor & mysta. Louanii ex aedibus nostris Calen. decemb.

Eiusdem Ioannis Paludani rhetoris Louaniensis in nouam insulam Vtopiam carmen.

Forteis Roma dedit, dedit & laudata disertos
Graecia, frugales inclyta Sparta dedit.
Massilia integros dedit, at Germania duros.
Comes ac lepidos Attica terra dedit.

Gallia clara pios quondam dedit Africa cautos
Munificos olim terra Britanna dedit
Virtutum ex aliis aliarum exempla petuntur
Gentibus, & quod huic desit, huic superat
Vna semel totam summam totius honesti
Insula terrigenis Vtopiana dedit.

Gerardus Nouiomagus de Vtopia.

Dulcia lector amas? sunt hic dulcissima quaeque
Vtile si queris: nil legis vtilius.
Siue vtrunque voles, vtroque haec insula abundat
Quo linguam exornes, quo doceas animum
Hic fontes aperit recti prauique disertus
Morus, Londini gloria prima sui.

Cornelius Grapheus ad lectorem.

Vis noua monstra, nouo dudum nunc orbe reperto?
Viuendi varia vis ratione modos?
Vis qui virtutum fontes? vis vnde malorum
Principia? & quantum rebus inane latet?
Haec lege, quae vario Morus dedit ille colore.
Morus Londinae nobilitatis honos.

Hieronymus Buslidius Thomae Moro S. D.

Non sat fuit ornatissime More olim omnem curam, operam, studium, intulisse in rem & commodum singulorum, nisi vel ea (quae tua pietas & liberalitas est) conferres in vniuersum, ratus hoc tuum (qualecunque foret) beneficium, eo maiorem hinc morari fauorem, venari gratiam, aucupari gloriam, quanto illud & latius propagatum, & in plures distributum, pluribus esset profuturum. Quod & si alias semper praestare contenderis, tamen id maxime es nuper mira felicitate adsecutus, scilicet pomeridiano illo sermo | ne abs te in literas relato. Quem de recte & bene constituta (ab omnibus expetenda) Vtopiensium republica aedidisti In cuius pulcherrimi instituti felici descriptione nihil est in quo vel summa eruditio, vel absoluta rerum humanarum peritia desiderari possit. Quando ea quidem ambo in illo tanta paritate & aequabili congressu concurrunt, vt neutro alteri herbam porrigente, vtrunque aequo marte de gloria contendat. Tam siquidem multifaria polles doctrina, Rursum tam multa, eaque certa rerum peritia, vt prorsus expertus affirmes quicquid scripseris, Doctissime

scribas, quicquid affirmandum destinaueris. Mira profecto raraque felicitas, ac plane eo rarior, quo magis ipsa sese inuidens plurimis, non prebet nisi raris, Maxime iis, qui sicut candore velint, ita eruditione sciant, fide queant, auctoritate possint, tam pie, recte, prouide, in commune consulere, sicut tu iam facis probe, qui quod non solum tibi, verum etiam toti te genitum orbi existimas, operae precium duxeris, hoc tuo pulcherrimo merito, vel totum ipsum orbem demereri: quod praestare alia ratione neque rectius neque melius potuisses: quam ipsis mortalibus ratione pollentibus: eam reipublicae ideam: eam morum formulam: absolutissimumque simulacrum praescribere: quo nullo vnquam in orbe visum sit: vel salubrius institutum: vel magis absolutum: vel quod magis expetendum videatur: vtpote multo quidem praestante: atque longo post se interuallo relinquente: tot celebratissimas: tantopere decantatas Lacedaemoniorum: Atheniensium: Romanorum: respublicas. Quae si iisdem essent auspiciis auspicatae: iisdem (quibus haec tua respublica) institutis: legibus: decretis: moribus: moderatae. Profecto hae nondum labefactatae & solo aequatae. Iam pro dolor citra spem omnem instaurationis extinctae facerent. Sed contra: incolumes adhuc beatae: felices: fortunatissimae agerent. Interim rerum dominae: suum late imperium terra marique sortitae. Quarum quidem rerum pub- | licarum: tu miserandam miseratus sortem: ne aliae itidem (quae hodie rerum potitae summum tenent) parem sustinerent vicem: prospicere voluisti: scilicet hac tua absolutissima republica: quae non tam in condendis legibus: quam vel probatissimis magistratibus formandis: maxime elaborauit. Nec id quidem ab re: quando alioqui sine illis omnes (vel optimae) leges, si Platoni credimus: mortuae censerentur. presertim ad quorum magistratuum simulacrum: probitatis specimen: exemplar morum: iusticiae imaginem: totus status: & rectus tenor cuiusuis absolutae reipublicae sit effingendus. In quo imprimis concurrant: prudentia in optimatibus: fortitudo in militibus: temperantia in singulis: iusticia in omnibus: quibus quum tua (quam tantopere celebras) respublica sit tam pulcherrime: vt liquet: composita. Non mirum si hinc veniat non solum multis timenda: sed & cunctis gentibus veneranda: simul omnibus saeculis praedicanda. Idque eo magis: quod in ea omnis proprietatis contentione sublata: nulli sit quippiam proprii. Caeterum in rem ipsam communem: communia sunt omnibus omnia: Adeo vt omnis res: quaeuis actio seu publica seu priuata: non ad multorum cupiditatem: non ad paucorum libidinem spectet: sed ad vnam iusticiam: aequabilitatem: communionem sustinendam quantulacunque sit) tota referatur. Quo illa integre relata: omnis materies fax & fomes: ambitus, luxus, inuidentiae,

iniuriae facessat necesse est. In quae nonnunquam : aut priua rerum possessio : aut ardens habendi sitis : omniumque miserrima rerum ambitio : mortales (vel reluctantes) protrudit : maximo suo idque incomparabili malo. Quando hinc saepenumero dissensiones animorum : motus armorum : & bella plusquam ciuilia derepente oriantur. Quibus non solum florentissimus status beatissimarum rerumpublicarum funditus pessundatur. Verum illarum olim parta gloria : acti triumphi : clara | trophaea, totiesque opima spolia, deuictis hostibus relata, penitus obliterantur. Quodsi in his haec nostra pagina minorem forte, ac velim, fidem fecerit, certe in promptu aderunt testes, ad quos te relegem, locupletissimi, videlicet tot & tantae olim vastatae vrbes, dirutae ciuitates, prostratae respublicae incensi & consumpti vici, quorum vti hodie vix vllae tantae calamitatis reliquiae, aut vestigia visuntur, Ita nec nomina illorum, vlla quantumuis vetus, & longe deducta historia, sat probe tenet. Quas quidem insignes clades, vastationes, euersiones, caeterasque belli calamitates : nostrae (si quae sint) respublicae facile euaserint : modo ad vnam Vtopiensium reipublicae normam sese ad amussim componentes, ab ea ne transuersum quidem, vt aiunt, vnguem recedant. Quod sic demum praestantes, tandem re ipsa cumulatissime agnoscent. quantum hoc tuum in se collatum beneficium profuerit, maxime quo accedente didicerint, suam rempublicam saluam incolumem, triumphantem seruare. Proinde tantum tibi suo praesentissimo seruatori debiturae, quantum is haud iniuria promeretur, qui non tantum aliquem e republica ciuem sed vel ipsam totam rempublicam servarit. Interea vale, ac felici ter perge non nihil vsque meditari, agere, elaborare, quod in rempublicam collatum, illi perpetuitatem, tibi immortalitatem addat. Vale doctissime & idem humanissime More, tuae Britanniae, ac nostri huius orbis decus. Ex aedibus nostris Mechliniae. M. D. XVI.

PREFATIO

in opus de optimo reipublicae statu.

THOMAS MORVS PETRO AEGIDIO S. P. D.

Pvdet me propemodum charissime Petre Aegidi libellum hunc, de Vtopiana republica, post annum fere ad te mittere quem te non dubito intra sesquimensem expectasse. quippe quum scires mihi demptum in hoc opere inueniendi laborem, neque de dispositione quicquam fuisse cogitandum, cui tantum erant ea recitanda, quae tecum vna pariter audiui narrantem Raphaelem, quare nec erat quod in eloquendo laboretur, quando nec illius sermo potuit exquisitus esse : quum esset primum subitarius, atque extemporalis, deinde hominis vt scis non perinde latine docti quam graece, & mea oratio quanto accederet propius ad illius neglectam simplicitatem, tanto futura sit propior veritati, cui hac in re soli curam & debeo & habeo. Fateor mi Petre mihi adeo multum laboris hiis rebus paratis detractum, vt pene nihil fuerit relictum, alioquin huius rei vel excogitatio, vel œconomia, potuisset, ab ingenio neque infimo neque prorsus indocto postulare, tum temporis nonnihil, tum studii, quod si exigeretur, ut diserte etiam res, non tantum vere scriberetur, idvero a me praestari, nullo tempore, nullo studio potuisset. Nunc vero quum ablatis curis hiis, in quibus tantum fuit sudoris exhauriendum, restiterit tantum hoc vti sic simpliciter scriberentur audita, nihil erat negocii sed huic tamen tam nihilo negocii peragendo, caetera negocia mea minus fere quam nihil temporis reliquerunt. Dum causas forenses assidue alias ago, alias audio, alias arbiter finio, alias iudex dirimo, dum hic officii causa visitur : ille negocii, dum foris totum ferme diem aliis impartior, reliquum meis, relinquo mihi, hoc est literis, nihil. Nempe reuerso domum, cum vxore fabulandum

est, garriendum cum liberis colloquendum cum ministris, quae ego omnia inter negocia numero, quando fieri necesse est. Necesse est autem, nisi velis esse domi tuae peregrinus. Et danda omnino opera est, vt quos vitae tuae comites, aut natura prouidit, aut fecit ca- | sus : aut ipse delegisti : hiis vt te quam iucundissimum compares, modo vt ne comitate corrumpas aut indulgentia ex ministris dominos reddas. Inter haec quae dixi elabitur dies, mensis, annus : quando ergo scribimus ? nec interim de somno quicquam sum loquutus vt nec de cibo quidem qui multis non minus absumit temporis : quam somnus ipse, qui vitae absumit ferme dimidium. At mihi hoc solum temporis adquiro quod somno ciboque suffuror, quod quoniam parcum est, lente, quia tamen aliquid, aliquando perfeci. atque ad te mi Petre transmisi Vtopiam vt legeres, & si quid effugisset nos, vti tu admoneres. Quanquam enim non hac parte penitus diffido mihi (qui vtinam sic ingenio atque doctrina aliquid essem, vt memoriam non vsque quaque destituor) non vsque adeo tamen confido, vt credam nihil mihi potuisse excidere. Nam & Ioannes Clemens puer meus, qui adfuit vt scis vna, vt quem a nullo patior sermone abesse in quo aliquid esse fructus potest, quoniam ab hac herba qua & latinis literis & graecis cœpit euirescere, egregiam aliquando frugem (spero) in magnum me coniecit dubium. siquidem quum quantum ego recordor, Hythlodeus narrauerit Amauroticum illum pontem quo fluuius Anydrus insternitur, quingentos habere passus in longum, Ioannes meus ait detrahendos esse ducentos : latitudinem fluminis haud supra trecentos ibi continere. Ego te rogo rem vt reuoces in memoriam. Nam si tu cum illo sentis, ego quoque adsentiar & me lapsum credam, sin ipse non recolas, scribam vt feci quod ipse recordari videor mihi, nam vt maxime curabo, ne quid sit in libro falsi, ita si quid sit in ambiguo, potius mendacium dicam, quam mentiar, quod malim bonus esse quam prudens. Quanquam facile fuerit huic mederi morbo, si ex Raphaele ipso aut praesens scisciteris aut per literas, quod necesse est facias vel ob alium scrupulum, qui nobis incidit nescio mea ne culpa magis, an tua, an Raphaelis ipsius. Nam neque nobis in mentem venit querere, neque illi dicere, qua in parte noui illius orbis Vtopia sita sit. Quod non fuisse praeter- | missum sic : vellem profecto mediocri pecunia mea redemptum, vel quod subpudet nescire, quo in mari sit insula de qua tam multa recenseam, vel quod sunt apud nos vnus & alter : sed vnus maxime, vir pius & professione Theologus, qui miro flagrat desiderio ade-

Nota theologicam differentiam inter mentiri et mendacium dicere.

undae Vtopiae, non inani & curiosa libidine collustrandi noua : sed vti religionem nostram : feliciter ibi cœptam, foueat atque adaugeat. Quod quo faciat rite, decreuit ante curare vt mittatur a pontifice atque adeo vt creetur Vtopiensibus episcopus, nihil eo scrupulo retardatus, quod hoc antistitium sit illi precibus impetrandum. Quippe sanctum ducit ambitum, quem non honoris aut questus ratio, sed pietatis respectus peperit. Quamobrem te oro mi Petre vti aut praesens, si potes commode, aut absens per epistolam, compelles Hythlodeum, atque efficias, ne quicquam huic operi meo, aut insit falsi, aut veri desyderetur. Atque haud scio an praestet ipsum ei librum ostendi. Nam neque alius aeque sufficit si quid est erratum corrigere : neque is ipse aliter hoc praestare potest, quam si quae sunt a me scripta perlegerit. ad haec : fiet vt hoc pacto intelligas, accipiat ne libenter, an grauatim ferat : hoc operis a me conscribi. Nempe si suos labores decreuit ipse mandare literis, nolit, fortasse me : neque ego certe velim, Vtopiensium per me vulgata republica, florem illi gratiamque nouitatis historiae suae praeripere. Quanquam vt vere dicam nec ipse mecum satis adhuc constitui an sim omnino aediturus. Etenim tam varia sunt palata mortalium, tam morosa quorundam ingenia, tam ingrati animi : tam absurda iudicia, vt cum hiis haud paulo felicius agi videatur, qui iucundi atque hilares genio indulgent suo, quam qui semet macerant curis, vt aedant aliquid quod aliis aut fastidientibus aut ingratis : vel vtilitati possit esse : vel voluptati. plurimi literas nesciunt : multi contemnunt. Barbarus vt durum reiicit : quicquid non est plane barbarum, Scioli aspernantur vt triuiale, quicquid obsoletis verbis non scatet. quibusdam solum placent vetera, plaerisque tantum sua. Hic tam tetricus est vt non admittat iocos hic tam insulsus ut non ferat sales, tam simi quidam sunt, vt nasum omnem, velut aquam ab rabido morsus cane reformident, adeo mobiles alii sunt vt aliud sedentes probent, aliud stantes. Hii sedent in tabernis & inter pocula de scriptorum iudicant ingeniis, magnaque cum authoritate condemnant vtcunque lubitum est, suis quenque scriptis, veluti capilicio vellicantes, ipsi interim tuti, & quod dici solet, ἔξω βέλουσ. quippe tam leues & abrasi vndique, vt ne pilum quidem habeant boni viri : quo possint apprehendi. Sunt praeterea quidam tam ingrati : vt quum impense delectentur opere : nihilo tamen magis ament authorem. Non absimiles inhumanis hospitibus, qui quum opipero conuiuio prolixe sint excepti : saturi demum discedunt domum : nullis habitis

Sanctus ambitus.

Ingrata hominum iudicia.

Simos vocat : homines nullo naso.

Prouerbium.

Mira collatio.

gratiis ei a quo sunt inuitati. I nunc & hominibus tam delicati palati: tam varii gustus: animi praeterea tam memoris & grati tuis impensis epulum instrue. Sed tamen mi Petre tu illud age quod dixi cum Hythlodeo: postea tamen integrum erit hac de re consulere denuo. Quanquam si id ipsius voluptate fiat: quandoquidem scribendi labore defunctus: nunc serio sapio: quod reliquum est de aedendo: sequar amicorum consilium: atque imprimis tuum. Vale dulcissime Petre Aegidi: cum optima coniuge: ac me vt soles ama: quando ego te amo etiam plus quam soleo.

FINIS

¶ SERMO RAPHAELIS HYTHLODEI viri eximii de optimo reipublicae statu, per illustrem virum Thomam Morum inclytae Britanniarum vrbis Londini & Ciuem & Vicecomitem .:.

Qvum non exigui momenti negocia quaedam inuictissimus Angliae Rex Henricus eius nominis octauus omnibus egregii principis artibus ornatissimus, cum serenissimo Castellae principe Carolo controuersa nuper habuisset, ad ea tractanda componendaque, oratorem me legauit in Flandriam, comitem & collegam viri incomparabilis Cuthberti Tunstalli quem scriniis nuper ingenti omnium gratulatione prefecit, de cuius sane laudibus nihil a me dicetur, non quod verear ne parum syncerae fidei testis habenda sit amicitia, sed quod virtus eius ac doctrina maior est, quam vt a me praedicari possit, tum notior vbique atque illustrior, quam vt debeat, nisi videri velim solem lucerna, quod aiunt, ostendere. Occurrerunt nobis Brugis (sic enim conuenerat) hi, quibus a principe negocium demandabatur egregii viri omnes, in his praefectus Brugensis vir magnificus princeps & caput erat, caeterum os & pectus Georgius Temsicius Cassiletanus Praepositus, non arte solum, verumetiam natura facundus, ad haec iure consultissimus, tractandi vero negocii cum ingenio tum assiduo rerum vsu eximius artifex, vbi semel atque iterum congressi quibusdam de rebus non satis consentiremus, illi in aliquot dies vale nobis dicto, Bruxellas profecti sunt principis oraculum sciscitaturi. Ego me

Paremia.

interim (sic enim res ferebat) Antuerpiam confero, ibi dum versor, saepe me inter alios, sed quo non alius gratior, inuisit Petrus Aegidius Antuerpiae natus magna fide, & loco apud suos honesto, dignus honestissimo, quippe iuuenis haud scio doctior ne, an moratior : est enim & optimus & litteratissimus ad haec animo in omnes candido, in amicos vero tam propenso pectore | amore, fide, adfectu tam syncero, vt vix vnum aut alterum vsquam inuenias quem illi sentias omnibus amicitiae numeris esse conferendum. Rara illi modestia, nemini longius abest fucus, nulli simplicitas inest prudentior, porro sermone tam lepidus & tam innoxie facetus, vt patriae desyderium ac laris domestici vxoris & liberorum, quorum studio reuisendorum nimis quam anxie tenebar (iam tum enim plus quatuor mensibus abfueram domo) magna ex parte mihi dulcissima consuetudine sua, & mellitissima confabulatione leuauerit. Hunc quum die quadam in templo diuae Mariae quod & opere pulcherrimum & populo celeberrimum est, rei diuinae interfuissem, atque peracto sacro pararem inde in hospitium redire, forte colloquentem video cum hospite quodam vergentis ad senium aetatis, vultu adusto, promissa barba : penula neglectim ab humero dependente, qui mihi ex vultu atque habitu nauclerus esse videbatur. At Petrus vbi me conspexit adit ac salutat respondere conantem seducit paululum, & vides inquit hunc ? (simul designabat eum cum quo loquentem videram) eum inquit iam hinc ad te recta parabam ducere. Venisset inquam pergratus mihi tua causa. Imo inquit ille : si nosses hominem, sua. Nam nemo viuit hodie mortalium omnium : qui tantam tibi hominum terrarumque incognitarum narrare possit historiam, quarum verum audiendarum scio auidissimum esse te. Ergo inquam non pessime coniectaui. Nam primo aspectu protinus sensi hominem esse nauclerum. Atqui inquit aberrasti longissime : nauigauit quidem non vt Palinurus : sed vt Vlysses : imo velut Plato. Nempe Raphael iste, sic enim vocatur gentilicio nomine Hythlodeus, & latinae linguae non indoctus, & graecae doctissimus (cuius ideo studiosior quam Romanae fuit : quoniam totum se addixerat philosophiae : qua in re nihil quod alicuius momenti sit praeter Senecae quaedam ac Ciceronis extare latine cognovit) relicto fratribus patrimonio quod ei domi fuerat (est enim lusitanus) orbis terrarum contemplandi studio Americo Vespucio se adiunxit atque in tribus posterioribus illarum quatuor nauigationum quae passim iam leguntur perpetuus eius comes fuit, nisi quod in vltima cum eo non rediit. Curauit enim

atque | adeo extorsit ab Americo, vt ipse in his. xxiiii. esset qui ad fines postremae nauigationis in Castello relinquebantur. Itaque relictus est, vti obtemperaretur animo eius, peregrinationis magis quam sepulchri curioso, quippe cui haec assidue sunt in ore, cœlo tegitur qui non habet vrnam & vndique ad superos tantundem esse viae. Quae mens eius, nisi deus ei propitius affuisset, nimio fuerat illi constatura. Caeterum postquam digresso Vespusio multas regiones cum quinque Castellanorum comitibus emensus est, mirabili tandem fortuna Taprobanen delatus, inde peruenit in Caliquit, vbi repertis commode Lusitanorum nauibus, in patriam denique praeter spem reuehitur Haec vbi narrauit Petrus, actis ei gratiis quod tam officiosus in me fuisset, vt cuius viri colloquium mihi gratum speraret, eius vti sermone fruerer, tantam rationem habuisset, ad Raphaelem me conuerto, tum vbi nos mutuo salutassemus, atque illa communia dixissemus, quae dici in primo hospitum congressu solent, inde domum meam digredimur, ibique in horto considentes in scamno cespitibus herbeis constrato confabulamur. Narrauit ergo nobis, quo pacto posteaquam Vespucius abierat ipse sociique eius, qui in Castello remanserant conueniendo atque blandiendo coeperint se paulatim eius terrae gentibus insinuare, iamque non innoxie modo apud eas, sed etiam familiariter versari, tum principi cuidam (cuius & patria mihi, & nomen excidit) grati charique esse, eius liberalitate narrabat commeatum atque viaticum ipsi & quinque eius comitibus affatim fuisse subpeditatum, cum itineris (quod per aquam ratibus, per terram curru peragebant) fidelissimo duce, qui eos ad alios principes, quos diligenter commendati petebant, adduceret. Nam post multorum itinera dierum oppida atque vrbes aiebat reperisse se ac non pessime institutas magna populorum frequentia respublicas. Nempe sub aequatoris linea tum hinc atque inde ab vtroque latere quantum fere spacii solis orbita complectitur vastas subiacere solitudines perpetuo feruore torridas : squalor vndique & tristis rerum facies, horrida atque inculta omnia feris habitata serpentibusque, aut denique hominibus neque minus efferis quam sint beluae neque minus noxiis. Caeterum vbi longius euectus sis, paulatim omnia mansuesce | re, cœlum minus asperum, solum virore blandum, mitiora animantium ingenia tandem aperiri populos, vrbes, oppida, in his assidua non inter se modo ac finitimos, sed procul etiam dissitas gentes terra marique commertia. Inde sibi natam facultatem multas

Apophthegma.

vltro citroque terras inuisendi. quod nulla nauis ad iter quodlibet instruebatur in quam non ille comitesque eius libentissime admittebantur.. Naues quas primis regionibus conspexerunt, carina plana fuisse narrabat, vela consutis papyris aut viminibus intendebantur, alibi coriacea, post vero accuminatas carinas canobea vela reppererunt, omnia denique nostris similia. Nautae maris ac cœli non imperiti, sed miram se narrabat inisse gratiam tradito magnetis vsu, cuius antea penitus erant ignari. ideoque timide pelago consueuisse sese, neque alias temere quam aestate credere. Nunc vero eius fiducia lapidis contemnunt hyemem, securi magis quam tuti, vt periculum sit ne quae res magno eis bono futura putabatur, eadem per imprudentiam magnorum causa malorum fiat. Quid quoque in loco se vidisse narrauit & longum fuerit explicare, neque huius est operis institutum, & alio fortasse loco dicetur a nobis, praesertim quicquid ex vsu fuerit non ignorari, qualia sunt in primis ea, quae apud populos vsquam ciuiliter conuiuentes animaduertit recte prudenterque prouisum. His enim de rebus & nos auidissime rogabamus, & ille libentissime disserebat, omissa interim inquisitione monstrorum, quibus nihil est minus nouum. Nam Scyllas & celonos rapaces & Lestrigonas populiuoros, atque eiuscemodi immania portenta, nusquam fere non inuenias, at sane ac sapienter institutos ciues haud reperias vbilibet. Caeterum vt multa apud nouos illos populos adnotauit perperam consulta, sic haud pauca recensuit, vnde possint exempla sumi corrigendis harum vrbium, nationum, gentium ac regnorum erroribus idonea alio, vt dixi, loco a me commemoranda. Nunc ea tantum referre animus est, quae de moribus atque institutis narrabat Vtopiensium praemisso tamen eo sermone, quo velut tractu quodam ad eius mentionem reipublicae deuentum est. Nam | quum Raphael prudentissime recensuisset, alia hic, alia illic errata, vtrobique certe plurima, tum quae apud nos, quaeue item sunt apud illos cauta sapientius, quum vniuscuiusque populi mores atque instituta sic teneret, tanquam in quemcunque locum diuertisset: totam ibi vitam vixisse videretur, admiratur hominem Petrus. Miror profecto mi Raphael, inquit, cur te regi cuipiam non adiungas quorum neminem esse satis scio cui tu non sis futurus vehementer gratus, vt pote quem hac doctrina atque hac locorum hominumque peritia non oblectare solum, sed exemplis quoque instruere atque adiuuare consilio sis idoneus, simul hoc pacto & tuis rebus aegregiae consulueris, & tuorum omnium commodis magno esse adiumento possis. Quod

ad meos attinet, inquit ille, non valde commoueor, nempe in quos mediocriter opinor me officii mei partes impleuisse. Nam quibus rebus alii non nisi senes & aegri cedunt, imo tum quoque aegre cedunt, quum amplius retinere non possunt, eas res ego non sanus modo ac vegetus, sed iuuenis quoque cognatis amicisque dispartiui, quos debere puto hac mea esse benignitate contentos, neque id exigere atque expectare praeterea, vt memet eorum causa regibus in seruitium dedam. Bona verba inquit Petrus, mihi visum est non vt seruias regibus, sed vt inseruias. Hoc est inquit ille vna syllaba plus quam seruias. At ego sic censeo inquit Petrus quoquo tu nomine rem appelles, eam tamen ipsam esse viam, qua non aliis modo & priuatim & publice possis conducere, sed etiam quoque ipsius conditionem reddere fœliciorem. Fœliciorem ne inquit Raphael ea via facerem a qua abhorret animus? At qui nunc sic viuo vt volo, quod ego certe suspicor paucissimis purpuratorum contingere. Quin satis est eorum, qui potentum amicicias ambiunt, ne magnam putes iacturam fieri si me atque vno aut altero mei similibus sint carituri. Tum ego perspicuum est inquam te mi Raphael neque opum esse neque potentiae cupidum, atque ego profecto huius tuae mentis hominem non minus veneror ac suspicio, quam eorum quemuis qui maxime rerum sunt potentes. Caeterum videbaris plane rem te atque isthoc animo | tuo tam generoso, tam vere philosopho dignam facturus, si te ita compares, vt vel cum aliquo priuatim incommodo ingenium tuum atque industriam publicis rebus accommodes, quod nunquam tanto cum fructu queas, quanto si a consiliis fueris magno alicui principi eique (quod te facturum certe scio) recta atque honesta persuaseris, nempe a principe bonorum malorumque omnium torrens in totum populum velut a perenni quodam fonte promanat. In te vero tam absoluta doctrina est, vt vel citra magnum rerum vsum, porro tanta rerum peritia, vt sine vlla doctrina, egregium consiliarium cuiuis regum sis praestiturus. Bis erras inquit ille mi More, primum in me, deinde in re ipsa. nam neque mihi ea est facultas, quam tu tribuis, & si maxime esset, tamen quum ocio meo negocium facescerem publicam rem nihil promoueam. Primum enim principes ipsi plaerique omnes militaribus studiis (quorum ego neque peritiam habeo neque desydero) libentius occupantur quam bonis pacis artibus, maiusque multo studium est, quibus modis per fas ac nephas noua sibi regna pariant, quam vti parta bene administrent. Praeterea quicumque regibus a consilio sunt, eorum nemo est, qui non aut vere tantum

sapit, vt non egeat: aut tantum sibi sapere videtur, vt non libeat alterius probare consilium, nisi quod absurdissimis quibusque dictis assentiuntur & supparasitantur eorum, quos vt maxime apud principem gratiae student assentatione demereri sibi. Et certe sic est natura comparatum, vt sua cuique inuenta blandiantur. Sic & coruo suus arridet pullus, & suus simiae catulus placet. Quod si quis in illo cœtu vel alienis inuidentium, vel praeferentium sua, aliquid afferat, quod aut aliis temporibus factum legit, aut aliis fieri locis vidit, ibi qui audiunt perinde agunt, ac si tota sapientiae suae periclitaretur opinio, & post illa pro stultis plane sint habendi, nisi aliquid sufficiant inuenire, quod in aliorum inuentis vertant vicio. Si caetera destituant, tum huc confugiunt, haec nostris inquiunt placuere maioribus, quorum prudentiam vtinam nos aequaremus, itaque hoc dicto veluti egregie perorata re considunt. Tanquam magnum sit periculum, si quis vlla in re deprehendatur maioribus suis sapientior a quibus tamen, vt quicque optime consultum est: ita aequissimo animo valere sinimus, at si qua de re potuit consuli prudentius, eam protinus ansam cupide arreptam mordicus retinemus. Itaque in haec superba, absurda, ac morosa iudicia cum saepe alibi: tum semel in Anglia quoque incidi. Obsecro inquam fuisti apud nos? Fui inquit atque aliquot menses ibi sum versatus non multo post eam cladem: qua Anglorum occidentalium ciuile aduersus regem bellum miseranda ipsorum strage compressum est. Interea multum debui reuerendissimo patri Ioanni Mortono Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo & Cardinali ac tum quoque Angliae Cancellario viro mi Petre (nam Moro cognita sum narraturus) non authoritate magis, quam prudentia ac virtute venerabili. Etenim statura ei mediocris erat: nec aetati: quanquam serae cedens: vultus quem reuereare: non horreas, in congressu non difficilis, saerius tamen & grauis: libido erat asperius interdum compellando supplicantes experiri: sed sine noxa, quid ingenii, quam animi praesentiam quisque prae se ferret, qua velut cognata sibi virtute, modo abesset impudentia delectabatur & vt idoneam ad res gerendas amplectabatur. Sermo politus & efficax: Iuris magna peritia: ingenium incomparabile: memoria ad prodigium vsque excellens. Haec enim natura egregia: discendo atque exercendo prouexit. Huius consiliis rex plurimum fidere: multum respublica niti (cum ego aderam) videbatur. quippe qui ab prima fere iuuenta protinus a schola coniectus in aulam: maximis in

negotiis per omnem versatus aetatem : ac variis fortunae aestibus assidue iactatus prudentiam rerum (quae sic recepta non facile elabitur) multis magnisque cum periculis didicerat. Forte fortuna quum die quodam in eius mensa essem : laicus quidam legum vestratium peritus aderat : is nescio unde nactus occasionem cœpit accurate laudare rigidam illam iusticiam : quae tum illic exercebatur in fures : quos passim narrabat suspendi nonnunquam. xx. in vna cruce : atque eo vehementius dicebat se mirari : cum tam pauci elaberentur supplicio : quo malo fato fieret : vti tam multi tamen ubique grassarentur. Tum ego (ausus enim sum libere apud Cardi | nalem loqui : nihil mireris inquam. Nam haec punitio furum & supra iustum est & non ex vsu publico. Est enim ad vindicanda furta nimis atrox : nec tamen ad refrenanda sufficiens. Quippe neque furtum simplex tam ingens facinus est, vt capite debeat plecti, neque vlla pœna est tanta, vt ab latrociniis cohibeat eos : qui nullam aliam artem querendi victus habent. Itaque hac in re non vos modo : sed bona pars huius orbis imitari videtur malos praeceptores, qui discipulos verberant libentius quam docent. Decernuntur enim furanti grauia atque horrenda supplicia, cum potius multo fuerit prouidendum : vti aliquis esset prouentus vitae ne cuiquam tam dira sit furandi primum : de hinc pereundi necessitas Est inquit ille satis hoc prouisum, sunt artes mechanicae : est agricolatio : ex his tueri vitam liceat, ni sponte mali esse mallent. At non sic euades inquam. Nam primum omittamus eos, qui saepe vel ab externis bellis vel ciuilibus mutuli redeunt domum vt nuper apud vos e Cornubiensi prelio, & non ita pridem e Gallico : qui vel reipublicae impendunt membra vel regi, quos neque pristinas artes exercere debilitas patitur, neque aetas nouam discere : hos inquam omittamus, quando bella per intermissas vices commeant. Ea contemplemur quae nullo die non accidunt. Tantus est ergo nobilium numerus : qui non ipsi modo degant ociosi tanquam fuci laboribus aliorum, quos puta suorum praediorum colonos augendis reditibus ad viuum usque radunt. Nam eam solam frugalitatem nouere, homines alioquin ad mendicitatem vsque prodigi : verum immensam quoque ociosorum stipatorum turbam circumferunt : qui nullam vnquam querendi victus artem didicere. Hi simul atque herus obiit : aut ipsi egrotauerint : eiiciuntur ilico. nam & ociosos libentius quam egrotos alunt, & saepe morientis heres non protinus alendae sufficit paternae familiae. interim illi esuriunt strenue : nisi strenue latrocinentur. Nam quid faciant ?

De legibus parum equis

Qua ratione fieri possit ne tam multi sint fures.

Siquidem vbi errando paululum vestes ac valetudinem attriuere morbo iam squalidos, atque obsitos pannis, neque generosi dignantur accipere : neque audent rustici : non ignari eum qui molliter educatus in ocio ac deliciis : solitus sit accinctus acinace ac cetra : totam viciniam vultu nebulonico despicere & contemnere | omnes prae se, haud quaquam idoneum fore, qui cum ligone ac marra : maligna mercede ac victu parco, fideliter inseruiat pauperi. Ad haec ille, atqui nobis inquit hoc hominum genus in primis fouendum est. In his enim, vt pote hominibus animi magis excelsi ac generosioris, quam sunt opifices aut agricolae, consistunt vires ac robur exercitus, si quando sit confligendum bello. Profecto inquam ego eadem opera dicas licet, belli gratia fouendos esse fures, quibus haud dubie nunquam carebitis, dum habebitis hos. Quin neque latrones sunt instrennui milites, neque milites ignauissimi latronum, adeo inter has artes belle conuenit. At hoc vicium tamen frequens est nobis, non proprium. est enim omnium fere gentium commune. Nam Gallias infestat alia praeterea pestis pestilentior. Tota patria stipendiariis, in pace quoque (si illa pax est) oppleta atque obsessa militibus, eadem persuasione inductis, qua vos ociosos hic ministros alendos esse censuistis. nempe quod morosophis visum est, in eo sitam esse publicam salutem, si in promptu semper adsit validum firmumque praesidium, maxime veteranorum, neque enim confidunt inexercitatis quicquam, vt vel ideo quaerendum eis bellum sit, ne imperitos habeant milites, & homines iugulandi gratis, ne (vt habet facete Salustius) manus aut animus incipiat per ocium torpescere. At quam sit perniciosum huiusmodi beluas alere & Gallia suo malo didicit, & Romanorum, Carthaginensium ac Syrorum, tum multarum gentium exempla declarant, quorum omnium non imperium modo, sed agros quoque atque adeo vrbes ipsas parati ipsorum exercitus aliis atque aliis occasionibus euerterunt. Quam vero non magnopere necessarium vel hinc elucescit quod ne Galli quidem milites armis ab vnguiculis exercitatissimi cum euocatis comparati vestris, admodum saepe gloriantur superiores sese discessisse, vt ne quid dicam amplius, ne praesentibus videar adblandiri vobis. Sed nec vestri illi vel opifices vrbici vel rudes atque agrestes agricolae ociosos generosorum stipatores creduntur valde pertimescere, nisi aut hi quibus ad vires atque audaciam corpus contigit ineptius, aut quorum animi vis inopia rei familiaris infringitur, adeo periculum nullum est, ne quorum valida & robusta corpora, | neque enim nisi

Quam pernicicm adferant perpetua militum presidia.

selectos dignantur generosi corrumpere, nunc vel elanguescunt ocio, vel negociis prope muliebribus emolliuntur, iidem bonis artibus instructi ad vitam, & virilibus exercitati laboribus effœminentur Certe vtcunque sese haec habet res, illud mihi nequaquam videtur publicae rei conducere, in euentum belli, quod nunquam habetis nisi quum vultis, infinitam eius generis turbam alere, quod infestat pacem, cuius tanto maior haberi ratio quam belli debeat. Neque haec tamen sola est furandi necessitas est alia magis quantum credo peculiaris vobis. Quaenam est ea inquit Cardinalis. Oues inquam vestrae quae tam mites esse tamque exiguo solent ali nunc vti fertur tam edaces atque indomitae esse cœperunt, vt homines deuorent ipsos, agros, domos, oppida vastent ac depopulentur. Nempe quibuscunque regni partibus nascitur lana tenuior, atque ideo preciosior ibi nobiles & generosi atque adeo abbates aliquot sancti viri, non his contenti reditibus fructibusque annuis, qui maioribus suis solebant ex praediis crescere, nec habentes satis, quod ociose ac laute viuentes, nihil in publicum prosint, nisi etiam obsint, aruo nihil relinquunt, omnia claudunt pascuis, demoliuntur domos diruunt oppida, templo duntaxat stabulandis ouibus relicto & tanquam parum soli perderent apud uos ferarum saltus, ac viuaria : illi boni viri habitationes omnes, & quicquid usquam est culti, vertunt in solitudinem. Ergo vt vnus helluo inexplebilis ac dira pestis patriae, continuatis agris, aliquot millia iugerum vno circumdet septo. eiiciuntur coloni quidam suis, etiam aut circumscripti fraude, aut vi oppressi exuuntur, aut fatigati iniuriis adiguntur ad venditionem. Itaque quoquo pacto emigrant miseri, viri, mulieres : mariti, vxores, orbi, viduae, parentes cum paruis liberis, & numerosa magis quam diuite familia, vt multis opus habet manibus res rustica, emigrant inquam e notis atque assuetis laribus, nec inueniunt quo se recipiant, supellectilem omnem haud magno vendibilem, etiam si manere possit emptorem, quum extrudi necesse est, minimo venundant. id quum breui errando insumpserint, quid restat aliud denique quam vti furentur & pendeant iuste scilicet, aut vagentur atque mendicent, quanquam tum quoque velut errones coniiciuntur in carcerem, quod ociosi ob-ambulent, quorum operam nemo est qui conducat, quum illi cupidissime offerant. Nam rusticae rei cui assueuerunt nihil est quod agatur vbi nihil seritur. Siquidem vnus opilio atque bubulcus sufficit ei terrae depascendae pecoribus in cuius cultum, vt sementi faciendae sufficeret multae poscebantur manus

Atque hac ratione fit vt multis in locis annona multo sit charior. Quin lanarum quoque adeo increuit precium, vt a tenuioribus, qui pannos inde solent apud vos conficere, prorsus emi non possint, atque ea ratione plures ab opere ablegantur in ocium. Nam post aucta pascua infinitam ouium vim absumpsit tabes, velut eorum cupiditatem vlciscente deo immissa in oues lue, quam in ipsorum capita contortam esse fuerat iustius. Quod si maxime increscat ouium numerus precio nihil decrescit tamen, quod earum, si monopolium appellari non potest quod non vnus vendit, certe oligopolium est. Reciderunt enim fere in manus paucorum eorundemque diuitum, quos nulla necessitas vrget ante vendendi quam libet, nec ante libet quam liceat quanti libet. Iam caetera quoque pecorum genera vt aeque chara sint, eadem ratio est, atque hoc etiam amplius, quod dirutis villis, atque imminuta re rustica non sint qui fœturam curent. Neque enim diuites illi, vt ouium, sic etiam armentorum fœtus educant: sed aliunde macra empta vili, posteaquam suis pascuis pinguerint magno reuendunt. Ideoque sicuti reor nondum sentitur totum huius rei incommodum. Nempe adhuc his modo locis reddunt cara, vbi vendunt. caeterum vbi aliquamdiu celerius extulerint illinc quam nasci possint, tum demum ibi quoque paulatim decrescente copia vbi coemuntur necesse est sic insigni laboretur inopia. Ita qua re vel maxime fœlix haec vestra videbatur insula, iam ipsam paucorum improba cupiditas vertit in perniciem. Nam haec annonae charitas in causa est cur quisque quam possit plurimos e familia dimittat, quo queso nisi mendicatum, aut quod generosis animis persuadeas facilius latrocinatum? Quid quod ad miseram hanc egestatem atque inopiam adiungitur, importuna luxuries. Nam & ministris nobilium, & opificibus, & ipsis propemodum rusticis, & omnibus denique ordinibus, multum est insolentis apparatus in vestibus, nimius in victu | luxus. Iam ganea, lustra, lupanar, et aliud lupanar tabernae, vinariae, ceruisiariae, postremo tot improbi ludi, alea, charta, fritillus, pila, sphera, discus, an non haec celeriter exhausta pecunia, recta suos mystas mittunt aliquo latrocinatum? Has perniciosas pestes eiicite, statuite, vt villas atque oppida rustica, aut hi restituant qui diruere, aut ea cedant reposituris atque aedificare volentibus. Refrenate coemptiones istas diuitum, ac velut monopolii exercendi licentiam. Pauciores alantur ocio, reddatur agricolatio, lanificium instauretur, vt sit honestum negocium, quo se vtiliter exerceat ociosa ista turba, vel

quos hactenus inopia fures fecit, vel qui nunc errones aut ociosi sunt ministri, fures nimirum vtrique futuri. Certe nisi his malis medemini, frustra iactetis exercitam in vindicanda furta iusticiam. nempe speciosam magis, quam aut iustam aut vtilem. Siquidem quum pessime sinitis educari, & mores paulatim ab teneris annis corrumpi, puniendos videlicet, tum demum quum ea flagitia viri designent, quorum spem de se perpetuam a puericia vsque prebuerant, quid aliud queso quam facitis fures, & iidem plectitis? Iam me haec loquente iuris ille consultus interim se ad dicendum composuerat, ac statuerat secum modo illo solemni disputantium vti, qui diligentius repetunt quam respondent, adeo bonam partem laudis ponunt in memoria. Belle inquit dixisti profecto, quum sis videlicet hospes, qui magis audire his de rebus aliquid potueris, quam exacte quicquam cognoscere, id quod ego paucis efficiam perspicuum. Nam primum ordine recensebo quae tu dixisti. deinde ostendam quibus in rebus imposuit tibi nostrarum rerum ignoratio, postremo rationes tuas omnes diluam atque dissoluam. Igitur vt a primo quod sum pollicitus exordiar, quatuor mihi visus es: Tace inquit Cardinalis: nam haud responsurus paucis videris qui sic incipias. Quamobrem leuabimus in praesenti te hac respondendi molestia, seruaturi tamen integrum id munus tibi in proximum congressum vestrum, quem (nisi quid impediat aut te aut Raphaelem hunc) crastinus dies velim referat. Sed interim abs te mi Raphael perquam libenter audierim, quare tu furtum putes vltimo supplicio non puni- | endum quamque aliam pœnam ipse statuas quae magis conducat in publicum. Nam tolerandum ne tu quidem sentis. At si nunc per mortem quoque, tamen in furtum ruitur, proposita semel vitae securitate, quae vis, quis metus posset absterrere maleficos? qui mitigatione supplicii, velut praemio quodam ad maleficium se inuitatos interpretarentur. Omnino mihi videtur inquam pater benignissime homini vitam eripi propter ereptam pecuniam prorsus iniquum esse. Siquidem cum humana vita ne omnibus quidem fortunae possessionibus paria fieri posse arbitror. Quodsi laesam iusticiam, si leges violatas, hac rependi pœna dicant, haud pecuniam, quid ni merito summum illud ius summa vocetur iniuria? Nam neque legum probanda sunt tam manliana imperia, vt sicubi in leuissimis parum obtemperetur, illico stringant gladium, neque tam stoica scita, vt omnia peccata adeo existiment paria, vti nihil iudicent interesse, occidat ne aliquis hominem an nummum ei surripiat, inter quae (si quic-

Expressit morem ei Cardinali familiarem interpellandi si quis loquacius ageret.

Manliana imperia ex Liuio.

quam aequitas valet) nihil omnino simile aut affine. Deus vetuit occidi quenquam, & nos tam facile occidimus ob ademptam pecuniolam? Quod si quis interpretetur, illo dei iussu interdictam necis potestatem, nisi quatenus humana lex declaret occidendum, quid obstat quo minus homines eodem modo constituant inter se, quatenus stuprum admittendum sit, adulterandum, peierandum? Siquidem quum deus non alienae modo, verum etiam suae cuique mortis ius ademerit, Si hominum inter se consensus de mutua cede certis placitis consentientium, adeo debet valere, vt illius praecepti vinculis eximat suos satellites, qui sine vllo exemplo dei, eos interemerint, quos humana sanctio iussit occidi: an non hoc pacto praeceptum illud dei tantum iuris est habiturum quantum humana iura permiserint? ac fiet nimirum vt ad eundem modum omnibus in rebus statuant homines: quatinus diuina mandata conueniat obseruari. Denique lex Mosaica: quanquam inclemens & aspera: nempe in seruos & quidem obstinatos lata, tamen pecunia furtum haud morte mulctauit. Ne putemus deum in noua lege clementiae: qua pater imperat filiis: maiorem indulsisse nobis inuicem saeuiendi licentiam. Haec sunt | cur non licere putem. Quantum vero sit absurdum, atque etiam perniciosum reipublicae furem atque homicidam ex aequo puniri, nemo est opinor qui 'nesciat. Nempe quum latro conspiciat non minus imminere discriminis duntaxat furti damnato, quam si praeterea conuincatur homicidii, hac vna cogitatione impellitur in cedem eius quem alioquin fuerat tantum spoliaturus. quippe praeterquam quod deprehenso nihil sit plus periculi. Est etiam in cede securitas maior, & maior celandi spes sublato facinoris indice. Itaque dum fures nimis atrociter studemus perterrefacere, in bonorum incitamus perniciem. Iam quod queri solet: quae punitio possit esse commodior: hoc meo iudicio haud paulo facilius est repertu: quam quae possit esse deterior. Cur enim dubitemus eam viam vtilem esse castigandis sceleribus: quam scimus olim tam diu placuisse Romanis administrandae reipublicae peritissimis. Nempe hi magnorum facinorum conuictos in lapidicinas: atque fodienda metalla damnabant: perpetuis adseruandos vinculis. Quanquam ego quod ad hanc rem attinet: nullius institutum gentis magis probo: quam id quod interea dum peregrinabar: in Perside obseruatum apud vulgo dictos Polyleritas adnotaui: populum neque exiguum neque imprudenter institutum & nisi quod tributum quotannis Persarum pendit regi: caetera liberum ac suis permissum legibus. Caeterum

Res publica Polyleritarum apud Persas.

quoniam longe ab mari: montibus fere circumdati: & suae terrae nulla in re maligne contenti fructibus: neque adeunt alios saepe neque adeuntur. tamen ex vetusto more gentis: neque fines prorogare student: & quos habent ab omni facile iniuria: & montes tuentur: & pensio quam rerum potienti persoluunt: immunes prorsus ab milicia: haud perinde splendide atque commode: felicesque magis quam nobiles aut clari degunt. quippe ne nomine quidem opinor praeterquam conterminis admodum: satis noti. Ergo apud hos furti qui peraguntur, quod sustulere domino reddunt, non, quod alibi fieri solet, principi: vtpote cui tantum iuris esse censent in rem furtiuam quantum ipsi furi: Sin res perierit: precio ex bonis furum confecto ac persoluto tum reliquo vxoribus eorum atque liberis integro: ipsi damnantur in opera: ac nisi atrociter commissum furtum est: neque clauduntur ergastulo: neque gestant compedes: sed | liberi ac soluti in publicis occupantur operibus. detrectantes ac languidius gerentes sese: non tam vinculis cohercent quam excitant verberibus, strenuam nauantes operam: absunt a contumeliis: noctu tamen nominatim censiti cubiculis includuntur. praeter assiduum laborem nihil incommodi est in vita. Aluntur enim haud duriter qui enim publicae rei seruiunt: e publico. alibi aliter. Siquidem alicubi quod impenditur in eos ex eleemosina colligitur: atque ea via quanquam incerta: tamen vt est ille populus misericors nulla reperitur vberior. alibi reditus quidam publici ad id destinantur. Est vbi certum in eos vsus tributum viritim conferunt. Quin aliquot in locis nullum publicum opus faciunt: sed vt priuatus quisque eget mercenariis ita illorum cuiuspiam in eum diem operam: stata mercede conducit apud forum: paulo minoris quam quanti liberam fuerat conducturus: praeterea fas est seruilem ignauiam flagris corripere. Sic fit vti nunquam opere careant: & praeter victum aliquid quoque die ab singulis publico inferatur aerario. Vno quodam colore vestiuntur & omnes & soli: capillo non abraso verum paulo supra auriculas attonso: e quarum altera paululum praescinditur. Cibum cuique ab amicis dari: potumque ac sui coloris vestem: licet pecuniam datam esse danti pariter atque ac[ci]pienti capitale: neque minus periculosum etiam homini libero quacunque de causa nummum a damnato recepisse: & seruos item (sic enim damnatos vocant) arma contingere. Suos quaeque regio propria distinguit nota: quam abiecisse capitale est: vt vel extra suos conspici fines: vel cum alterius regionis seruo quicquam esse collocutum. At neque tutior fugae meditatio quam ipsa est fuga. Quin

Annotandum nobis qui secus facimus.

At idem hodie famuli nobilium pulchrum sibi ducunt

conscium talis fuisse consilii in seruo nex est: in libero seruitus. Contra indici praemia decreta sunt: libero pecunia: seruo libertas. vtrique vero venia atque impunitas conscientiae: ne quando persequi malum consilium quam pœnitere sit tutius. Huius rei haec lex atque hic ordo est quem dixi qui quantum habeat humanitatis & commodi facile patet. quando sic irascitur vt vicia perimat seruatis hominibus atque ita tractatis vt bonos esse necesse sit. & quantum ante damni dederunt tantum reliqua vita resartiant. porro ne ad pristinos relabantur mores adeo nullus est metus vt viatores quoque quibus iter aliquo in | stitutum est, non aliis viae ducibus sese tutiores arbitrentur quam seruis illis ad quamque regionem subinde commutatis. Nempe ad perpetrandum latrocinium nihil habent vsquam non importunum: manus inermes: pecunia tantum sceleris index: deprehenso parata vindicta: neque spes vlla prorsus fugiendi quoquam. Quo enim pacto falleret ac tegeret fugam: homo nulla vestium parte populo similis: nisi abeat nudus? quin sic quoque fugientem proderet auricula. At ne inito saltem consilio coniurent in rempublicam id demum scilicet periculum est. quasi in tantam venire spem vlla possit vicinia non tentatis ac sollicitatis ante multarum regionum seruiciis: quae tantum absunt a facultate conspirandi: vt ne conuenire quidem: & colloqui aut' salutare se mutuo liceat: vt credantur interim id consilium intrepide crediturі suis: quod reticentibus periculosum, prodentibus maximo esse bono sciant. Quum contra nemo sit prorsus exspes: obediendo ac praeferendo bonamque de se prebendo spem: emendatioris in posterum vitae: posse his modis fieri: vt libertatem aliquando recuperet. quippe nullo non anno restitutis aliquot commendatione patientiae. Haec quum dixissem atque adiecissem nihil mihi videri causae quare non hic modus haberi vel in Anglia possit: multo maiore cum fructu: quam illa iusticia, quam iuris ille peritus tantopere laudauerat, Sub haec ille: nempe iure consultus. Nunquam inquit istud sic stabiliri queat in Anglia: vt non in summum discrimen adducat rempublicam & simul haec dicens commouit caput ac distorsit labrum atque ita conticuit. Et omnes qui aderant: pedibus in eius ibant sententiam. Tum Cardinalis non est inquit procliue diuinare: commode ne an secus res cessura sit nullo prorsus facto periculo. Verum si pronunciata mortis sententia: differri executionem iubeat princeps: atque hunc experiatur morem: cohibitis asylorum priuilegiis, Tum vero si res comprobetur euentu esse

vtilis: rectum fuerit eam stabiliri. alioqui tunc quoque afficere supplicio eos: qui sunt ante damnati: neque minus e republica fuerit: neque magis iniustum: quam si nunc idem fieret: nec vllum interea nasci ex ea re potest periculum. Quin mihi | certe videntur errones quoque ad eundem posse modum non pessime tractari, in quos hactenus tam multis aeditis legibus nihil promouimus tamen. Haec vbi dixit Cardinalis, quae me narrante contempserant omnes, eadem nemo non certatim laudibus est prosequutus, maxime tamen illud de erronibus, quoniam hoc ab ipso adiectum est. Nescio an quae sunt secuta silere prestiterit. erant enim ridicula, sed narrabo tamen. nam non erant mala, & aliquid ad hanc rem pertinebant. Adstabat forte parasitus quidam, qui videri volebat imitari morionem, sed ita simulabat, vt propior vero esset, tam frigidis dictis captans risum, vt ipse saepius quam dicta sua rideretur. Excidebant homini tamen interdum quaedam, adeo non absurda vt fidem adagio facerent crebro iactu iaci aliquando venerem Is ergo, dicente quodam e conuiuis: Iam meo sermone bene prouisum esse furibus, atque a Cardinale etiam cautum de erronibus, restare nunc vti his praeterea consuleretur publicitus, quos ad aegestatem morbus aut senectus impulisset atque ad labores vnde viui possit, reddidisset impotes. Sine inquit me. nam ego & hoc recte vt fiat videro. Etenim hoc genus hominum misere cupio aliquo e conspectu amoliri meo, ita me male vexarunt saepe, cum querulis illis opplorationibus flagitarent pecuniam, quas nunquam tamen tam commode potuerunt occinere, vt nummum a me extorquerent. Quippe semper alterum euenit, vt aut non libeat dare, aut ne liceat quidem, quando nihil est quod detur. Itaque nunc cœperunt sapere. nam ne perdant operam, vbi me praeterire vident, praetermittunt taciti, ita nihil a me sperant amplius. non hercule magis quam si essem sacerdos. Sed illos ego mendicos omnes lata lege distribui ac dispartiri iubeo in benedictinorum cœnobia, & fieri laicos vt vocant monachos: Mulieres moniales esse impero. Subrisit Cardinalis & approbat ioco, caeteri etiam saerio. Caeterum Theologus quidam frater hoc dicto in sacerdotes ac monachos adeo est exhilaratus, vt iam ipse quoque cœperit ludere homo alioqui prope ad toruitatem grauis At ne sic quidem inquit extricaberis a mendicis: nisi nobis quoque pro- | spexeris fratribus. Atqui, inquit parasitus, hoc iam curatum est. Nam Cardinalis egregie prospexit vobis quum statueret de cohercendis atque opere exercendis erronibus. nam vos estis errones maximi. Hoc quoque

Festiuus dialogus fratris et morionis.

Prouerbium vulgo iactatum apud mendicos.

dictum, quum coniectis in Cardinalem oculis eum viderent non abnuere, cœperunt omnes non illibenter arripere, excepto fratre. Nam is (neque equidem miror) tali perfusus aceto, sic indignatus est atque incanduit, vt nec a conuiciis quidem potuerit temperare. hominem vocauit nebulonem, detractorem, susurronem, & filium perditionis minas interim terribiles citans e scriptura sacra. Iam scurra saerio scurrari cœpit. & erat plane in sua palestra. Noli inquit irasci bone frater, scriptum est, in patientia vestra possidebitis animas vestras. Rursum frater (referam enim ipsius verba) non irascor inquit furcifer, vel saltem non pecco. Nam psalmista dicit, Irascimini & nolite peccare. Admonitus deinde frater a Cardinale suauiter, vt suos affectus compesceret. Non domine inquit ego loquor nisi ex bono zelo sicut debeo. Nam viri sancti habuerunt bonum zelum, vnde dicitur zelus domus tuae comedit me. & canitur in ecclesiis, Irrisores Helizei, dum conscendit domum dei, zelus calui sentiunt, sicut fortasse sentiet iste derisor, scurra, ribaldus. Facis inquit Cardinalis bono fortassis affectu, sed mihi videris facturus, nescio an sanctius certe sapientius, si te ita compares, ne cum homine stulto & ridiculo ridiculum tibi certamen instituas. Non domine inquit, non facerem sapientius. Nam Solomon ipse sapientissimus dicit: Responde stulto secundum stulticiam eius, sicut ego nunc facio, & demonstro ei foueam in quam cadet, nisi bene percaueat. Nam si multi irrisores Helizei qui erat tantum vnus caluus, senserunt zelus calui, quanto magis sentiet vnus derisor multorum fractum in quibus sunt multi calui? & etiam habemus bullam papalem, per quam omnes qui derident nos sunt excommunicati. Cardinalis vbi vidit nullum fieri finem, nutu ablegato parasito, ac aliam in rem commodum verso sermone, paulo post surgit e mensa atque audiendis clientum negotiis dedit se, nosque dimisit. En mi More quam longo te sermone oneraui: quod tam diu facere plane puduisset me, nisi tu & cupide flagitasses, & sic videreris audire tanquam nolles quicquam eius confabula | tionis omitti, quae quanquam aliquanto perstrictius, narranda tamen mihi fuit omnino propter eorum iudicium, qui quae me dicente spreuerant, eadem rursus e uestigio non improbante Cardinale, etiam ipsi comprobarunt, vsque adeo assentantes ei, vt parasiti quoque eius inuentis, quae dominus per iocum non aspernabatur, adblandirentur & saerio propemodum admitterent. Vt hinc possis estimare quanti me ac mea consilia aulici forent existimaturi. Profecto mi Raphael inquam magna me affecisti voluptate,

Allusit ad illud persianum: italo perfusus aceto.

Ut seruat decorum in narratione.

Apparet fratrem ob imperitiam zelus abusum neutro genere sicut hoc scelus

ita sunt abs te dicta prudenter simul & lepide omnia, praeterea visus mihi interim sum, non solum in patria versari, verum etiam repuerascere quodammodo iucunda recordatione Cardinalis illius, in cuius aula puer sum educatus. cuius viri memoriae quod tu tam impense faues, non credas mi Raphael quanto mihi sis effectus hoc nomine charior, cum esses alioqui charissimus Caeterum non possum adhuc vllo pacto meam demutare sententiam, quin te plane putem, si animum inducas tuum, vti ne ab aulis principum abhorreas, in publicum posse te tuis consiliis, plurimum boni conferre. quare nihil magis incumbit tuo, hoc est boni viri, officio Siquidem cum tuus censeat Plato, respublicas ita demum futuras esse felices, si aut regnent philosophi, aut reges philosophentur : quam procul aberit felicitas, si philosophi regibus nec dignentur saltem suum impartiri consilium ? Non sunt inquit ille tam ingrati, quin id libenter facerent, imo multi libris editis iam fecerunt, si hii qui rerum potiuntur essent parati, bene consultis parere. Sed bene haud dubie praeuidit Plato : nisi reges philosophentur ipsi, nunquam futurum, vt peruersis opinionibus a pueris imbuti atque infecti penitus philosophantium comprobent consilia. quod ipse quoque experiebatur apud Dionysium. An non me putas, si apud aliquem regum decreta sana proponerem : & perniciosa malorum semina, conarer illi euellere protinus aut eiiciendum aut habendum ludibrio ? Age finge me apud regem esse Gallorum, atque in eius considere consilio, dum in secretissimo secessu praesidente rege ipso, in corona prudentissimorum hominum magnis agitur studiis, quibus artibus ac machinamentis Mediolanum retineat : ac fugitiuam illam Neapolim ad se retrahat : postea vero euertat Venetos, ac totam Italiam subiiciat sibi. deinde flandros brabantos, totam postremo burgundiam suae faciat ditionis Atque alias praeterea gentes quarum regnum iam olim animo inuasit. Hic dum alius suadet feriendum cum venetis fœdus tantisper duraturum, dum ipsis fuerit commodum | cum illis communicandum consilium. quin deponendam quoque apud eosdem aliquam praedae partem, quam rebus ex sententia peractis repetat, dum alius consulit conducendos Germanos, alius pecunia demulcendos Eluetios. Alius aduersum numen imperatoriae maiestatis, auro, velut anathemate, propiciandum. Dum alii videtur cum Arragonum rege componendas esse res, & alieno Nauariae regno, velut pacis authoramento cedendum : Alius interim censet Castelliae principem aliqua spe affinitatis irretiendum, atque aulicos nobiles aliquot in

Tecte gallos dehortatur ab italia paranda.

Eluetii conducticii

suam factionem certa pensione esse pertrahendos. Dum maximus omnium nodus occurrit, quid statuendum interim de Anglia sit. Caeterum de pace tractandum tamen, & constringenda firmissimis vinculis semper infirma societas, amici vocentur suscipiantur vt inimici. Habendos igitur paratos velut in statione Scotos, ad omnem intentos occasionem, si quid se commoueant Angli protinus immittendos. Ad haec fouendum exulem nobilem aliquem occulte, namque id aperte ne fiat prohibent fœdera, qui id regnum sibi deberi contendat, vt ea velut ansa contineat, suspectum sibi principem. Hic inquam in tanto rerum molimine tot egregiis viris ad bellum sua certatim consilia conferentibus, si ego homuncio surgam, ac verti iubeam vela, omittendam Italiam censeam & domi dicam esse manendum, vnum Galliae regnum fere maius esse, quam vt commode possit ab vno administrari, ne sibi putet rex de aliis adiiciendis esse cogitandum. Tum si illis proponerem decreta Achoriorum populi, Vtopiensium insulae ad Euronoton oppositi, qui quum olim bellum gessissent, vt regi suo aliud obtinerent regnum quod affinitatis antiquae causa sibi contendebat haeredidate deberi, consequuti tandem id, vbi viderunt nihil sibi minus esse molestiae in retinendo, quam in quaerendo pertulerunt, verum assidua pullulare semina, vel internae rebellionis vel externae incursionis in deditos ita semper aut pro illis, aut contra pugnandum, nunquam dari facultatem dimittendi exercitus, compilari interim se, efferri foras pecuniam, alienae gloriolae suum impendi sanguinem, Pacem | nihilo tutiorem domi, corruptos bello mores, imbibitam latrocinandi libidinem, confirmatam cedibus audaciam, leges esse contemptui, quod rex in duorum curam regnorum distractus minus in vtrumuis animum posset intendere. Cum viderent alioqui tantis malis nullum finem fore, inito tandem consilio, regi suo humanissime fecerunt optionem retinendi vtrius regni vellet, nam vtriusque non fore potestatem: se plures esse quam qui a dimidiato possint rege gubernari, quum nemo sit libenter admissurus mulionem sibi cum alio communem. Ita coactus est ille bonus princeps, nouo regno cuipiam ex amicis relicto (qui breui etiam post eiectus est) antiquo esse contentus. Praeterea si ostenderem omnes hos conatus bellorum quibus tot nationes eius causa tumultuarentur, quum thesauros eius exhausissent, ac destruxissent populum, aliqua tandem fortuna frustra cessuros tamen, proinde auitum regnum coleret, ornaret quantum posset, & faceret quam florentissimum. Amet suos & ametur a suis, cum his vna viuat imperetque suauiter, atque alia

Exemplum annotandum.

regna valere sinat, quando id quod nunc ei contigisset satis amplum superque esset. Hanc orationem quibus auribus mi More putas excipiendam? Profecto non valde pronis inquam. Pergamus ergo inquit: si consiliariis cum rege quopiam tractantibus, & comminiscentibus quibus technis ei queant coaceruare thesauros, dum vnus intendendam consulit aestimationem monetae quum ipsi sit eroganda pecunia, deiiciendam rursus infra iustum quum fuerit corroganda, vti & multum aeris paruo dissoluat, & pro paruo multum recipiat: Dum alius suadet vt bellum simulet, atque eo praetextu coacta pecunia cum visum erit faciat pacem, sanctis cerimoniis, quo plebeculae oculis fiat prestigium miseratus videlicet humanum sanguinem princeps pius: Dum alius ei suggerit in mentem antiquas quasdam & tineis adesas leges, longa dissuetudine antiquatas, quas quod nemo latas meminisset omnes sint transgressi, earum ergo mulctas iubeat exigi, nullum vberiorem prouentum esse, nullum magis honorificum vtpote qui iusticiae prae se personam ferat: Dum ab alio ad- | monetur, vti sub magnis mulctis multa prohibeat: maxime talia: quae ne fiant in rem sit populi. post pecunia cum illis dispenset, quorum commodis obstat interdictum: sic & a populo gratiam iniri, & duplex adferri compendium, vel dum hii mulctantur quos quaestus cupiditas pellexit in casses, vel dum aliis vendit priuilegia, tanto pluris: quanto scilicet fuerit melior princeps: vtpote qui grauatim quicquam contra populi commodum priuato cuiquam indulgeat: & ob id non nisi magno precio. Dum alius ei persuadet obstringendos sibi iudices, qui quavis in re pro regio iure disceptent accersendos praeterea in palatium atque inuitandos vti coram se de suis rebus disserant, ita nullam causam eius tam aperte iniquam fore in qua non aliquis eorum vel contradicendi studio: vel pudore dicendi eadem: vel quo gratiam ineant apud eum aliquam reperiant rimam, qua possit intendi calumnia. Sic dum iudicibus diuersa sentientibus res per se clarissima disputatur & veritas in quaestionem venit: ansam commodum regi dari pro suo commodo ius interpretandi. caeteros aut pudore accessuros aut metu, sic intrepide fertur: postea pro tribunali sententia. Neque enim deesse praetextus potest pronuncianti pro principe. Nempe cui satis est aut aequitatem a sua parte esse, aut verba legis: aut contortum scripti sensum: aut quae legibus denique omnibus praeponderat: apud religiosos iudices principis indisputabilem praerogatiuam.

Crassi diuitis dictum

Dum omnes in Crassiano illo consentiunt atque conspirant. Nullam auri vim satis esse principi: cui sit alendus

exercitus. praeterea nihil iniuste regem facere, vt maxime etiam velit posse. Quippe omnia omnium eius esse: vt homines etiam ipsos: tantum vero cuique esse proprium quantum regis benignitas ei non ademerit, quod ipsum vt quam minimum sit: principis multum referre: vt cuius tutamentum in eo situm sit: ne populus diuitiis aut libertate lasciuiat quod hae res minus patienter ferant dura atque iniusta imperia quum contra egestas atque inopia retundat animos ac patientes reddat: adimatque pressis generosos rebellandi spiritus. Hic si ego rursus adsurgens contendam haec consilia omnia regi & inhonesta esse & perniciosa. Cuius non honor modo: sed securitas quoque in populi. magis opi- | bus sita sit quam suis, quos si ostendam, regem sibi deligere sua causa non regis: videlicet vti eius labore ac studio ipsi commode viuant tutique ab iniuriis: eoque magis ad principem eam pertinere curam: vt populo bene sit suo: quam vt sibi: non aliter ac pastoris officium est: oues potius quam semet pascere: quatinus opilio est. Nam quod populi egestatem censeant pacis praesidium esse: longissime aberrare eos ipsa res docet. Nempe vbi plus rixarum comperias quam inter mendicos? Quis intentius mutationi rerum studet quam cui minime placet praesens vitae status? Aut cui denique audacior impetus ad conturbanda omnia: spe alicunde lucrandi, quam cui iam nihil est quod possit perdere? Quod si rex aliquis adeo aut contemptus esset: aut inuisus suis: vt aliter eos continere in officio non possit: nisi contumeliis: compilatione: & sectione grassetur eosque redigat ad mendicitatem, praestiterit illi profecto regno se abdicare, quam his retinere artibus quibus quanquam imperii nomen retineat: certe amittit maiestatem. Neque enim regiae dignitatis est imperium in mendicos exercere: sed in opulentos potius atque felices. Quod ipsum sentit certe vir erecti ac sublimis animi Fabricius: cum responderet malle se imperare diuitibus quam diuitem esse. Et profecto vnum aliquem voluptate ac deliciis fluere: gementibus vndique ac lamentantibus aliis: hoc non est regni sed carceris esse custodem. Denique vt imperitissimus medicus est: qui morbum nescit nisi morbo curare: ita qui vitam ciuium non nouit alia via corrigere, quam ademptis vitae commodis: is se nescire fateatur imperare liberis: quin aut inertiam potius mutet suam: aut superbiam: nam his fere viciis accidit vt populus eum vel contemnat vel habeat odio: viuat innocuus de suo: sumptus ad reditus accommodet: refrenet maleficia: & recta institutione suorum praeueniat potius: quam sinat increscere: quae deinde

puniat: leges abrogatas consuetudine haud temere reuocet: praesertim quae diu desitae nunquam desideratae sunt: neque vnquam commissi nomine eiusmodi quicquam capiat: quale priuatum quempiam iudex velut iniquum ac vafrum non pateretur accipere. Hic si proponerem illis Macarensium legem. qui & ipsi non longe admodum absunt ab Vtopia: quorum rex quo primum die auspicatur imperium magnis adhibitis sacrificiis iuriiurando astringitur nunquam se vno tempore supra mille auri pondo in thesauris habiturum aut argenti quantum eius auri precium aequet. Hanc legem ferunt ab optimo quodam rege institutam: cui maiori curae fuit patriae commodum quam diuitiae suae, velut | obicem aeruandae pecuniae tantae: quanta faceret inopiam eius in populo. Nempe eum thesaurum videbat suffecturum, siue regi aduersus rebelles, siue regno aduersus hostium incursiones esset confligendum. Caeterum minorem esse quam vt animos faciat inuadendi aliena. quae potissima condendae legis causa fuit, proxima quod sic prospectum putauit ne desit pecunia quae in quotidiana ciuium commutatione versetur, & quum regi necesse est erogare quicquid thesauro supra legitimum accreuit modum, non quesiturum censuit occasiones iniuriae. talis rex & malis erit formidini: & a bonis amabitur. Haec ergo atque huiusmodi si ingererem apud homines in contrariam partem vehementer inclinatos: quam surdis essem narraturus fabulam? Surdissimis inquam haud dubie. neque hercule miror neque mihi videntur (vt vere dicam) huiusmodi sermones ingerendi aut talia danda consilia quae certus sis nunquam admissum iri. Quid enim prodesse possit aut quomodo in illorum pectus influere sermo tam insolens quorum praeoccupauit animos atque insedit penitus diuersa persuasio. Apud amiculos in familiari colloquio non insuauis est haec philosophia scholastica. Caeterum in consiliis principum: vbi res magnae magna authoritate aguntur non est his rebus locus. Hoc est inquit ille: quod dicebam non esse apud principes locum philosophiae. Imo inquam est verum non huic scholasticae: quae quiduis putet vbiuis conuenire: sed est alia philosophia ciuilior: quae suam nouit scenam: eique sit accommodans: in ea fabula quae in manibus est suas partes concinne & cum decoro tutatur: hac vtendum est tibi. Alioquin dum agitur quaepiam Plauti comœdia nugantibus inter se vernulis, si tu in proscenium prodeas habitu philosophico & recenseas ex octauia locum in quo Seneca disputat cum Nerone: Nonne praestiterit egisse mutam personam, quam aliena recitando talem fecisse

Mira lex macarensium.

Philosophia scholastica.

ὁμίωσις mira

κωφὸν πρόσωπον

tragicomœdiam? Corruperis enim peruerterisque praesentem fabulam : dum diuersa permisces : etiam si ea quae tu affers meliora fuerint. Quaecunque fabula in manu est eam age quam potes optime : neque ideo totam perturbes, quod | tibi in mentem venit alterius, quae sit lepidior. Sic est in republica sic in consultationibus principum. Si radicitus euelli non possint opiniones prauae, nec receptis vsu viciis mederi queas, ex animi tui sententia, non ideo tamen deserenda respublica est, & in tempestate nauis destituenda, quoniam ventos inhibere non possis, at neque insuetus & insolens sermo incalcandus, quem scias apud diuersa persuasos pondus non habiturum : sed obliquo ductu conandum est atque adnitendum tibi, vti pro tua virili omnia tractes commode, & quod in bonum nequis vertere, efficias saltem, vt sit quam minime malum. Nam vt omnia bene sint fieri non potest, nisi omnes boni sint, quod ad aliquod abhinc annos adhuc non expecto. Hac inquit arte nihil fieret aliud, quam ne dum aliorum furori mederi studeo, ipse cum illis insaniam. Nam si vera loqui volo, talia loquar necesse est. Caeterum falsa loqui sit ne philosophi nescio, certe non est meum. Quanquam ille meus sermo vt fuerit fortasse ingratus illis, atque molestus, ita non video cur videri debeat vsque ad ineptias insolens. Quod si aut ea dicerem, quae fingit Plato in sua republica, aut ea quae faciunt Vtopienses in sua, haec quanquam essent, vt certe sunt, meliora, tamen aliena videri possint, quod hic singulorum priuatae sunt possessiones, illic omnia sunt communia. Mea vero oratio (nisi quod ad eos qui statuissent secum, ruere diuersa via praecipites, iucundus esse non potest qui reuocet ac praemonstret pericula) alioquin quid habuit, quod non vbiuis dici, vel conueniat vel oporteat? Equidem si omittenda sunt omnia tanquam insolentia atque absurda, quaecumque peruersi mores hominum fecerunt, vt videri possint aliena, dissimulemus oportet, apud Christianos, plaeraque omnia quae Christus docuit, ac dissimulari vsque adeo vetuit, vt ea quoque quae ipse in aures insusurrasset suis, palam in tectis iusserit praedicari. Quorum maxima pars ab istis moribus longe est alienior, quam mea fuit oratio. Nisi quod concionatores homines callidi, tuum illud consilium secuti puto: quando mores suos homines ad Christi normam grauatim paterentur aptari, doctrinam eius uelut regulam plumbeam | accommodauerunt ad mores, vt aliquo saltem pacto coniungerentur scilicet, qua re nihil video quid profecerint, nisi vt securius liceat esse malos, atque ipse profecto tandundem

Vtopiensium instituta.

proficiam in consiliis principum. Nam aut diuersa sentiam, quod perinde fuerit ac si nihil sentiam, aut eadem, & ipsorum adiutor sim, vt inquit Mitio Terentianus, insaniae. Nam obliquus ille ductus tuus non video quid sibi velit, quo censes adnitendum si non possint omnia redd[i] bona, tamen vt tractentur commode, fiantque, quoad licet, quam minime mala. Quippe non est ibi dissimulandi locus, nec licet conniuere, approbanda sunt aperte pessima consilia, & decretis pestilentissimis subscribendum est. Speculatoris vice fuerit ac pene proditoris, etiam qui improbe consulta maligne laudauerit, porro nihil occurrit in quo prodesse quicquam possis, in eos delatus collegas, qui vel optimum virum facilius corruperint, quam ipsi corrigantur, quorum peruersa consuetudine vel deprauaberis vel ipse integer atque innocens alienae maliciae stultitiaeque praetexeris, tantum abest vt aliquid possis in melius obliquo illo ductu conuertere. Quam ob rem pulcherrima similitudine declarat Plato, cur merito sapientes abstineant a capescenda republica. Quippe quum populum videant in plateas effusum assiduis imbribus perfundi, nec persuadere queant illis, vt se subducant pluuiae tectaque subeant. gnari nihil profuturos sese si exeant, quam vt vna conpluantur, semet intra tecta continent habentes satis, quando alienae stultitiae non possunt mederi, si ipsi saltem sint in tuto. Quamquam profecto mi More (vt ea vere dicam, quae meus animus fert) mihi videtur vbicunque priuatae sunt possessiones, vbi omnes omnia pecuniis metiuntur, ibi vix vnquam posse fieri, vt cum republica aut iuste agatur aut prospere, nisi vel ibi sentias agi iuste, vbi optima quaeque peruenium ad pessimos, vel ibi feliciter vbi omnia diuiduntur in paucissimos, nec illos habitos vndecunque commode, caeteris vero plane miseris. Quam ob rem quum apud animum meum reputo, prudentissima atque sanctissi- | ma instituta Vtopiensium, apud quos tam paucis legibus, tam commode res administrantur, vt & virtuti precium sit & tamen aequatis rebus omnia abundent omnibus, tum vbi his eorum moribus ex aduerso comparo, tot nationes alias, semper ordinantes, nec vllam satis ordinatam vnquam, earum omnium in quibus quod quisque nactus fuerit, suum vocat priuatum, quorum tam multae in dies conditae leges non sufficiunt, vel vt consequatur quisquam, vel vt tueatur vel vt satis internoscat ab alieno, illud quod suum inuicem quisque priuatum nominat, id quod facile indicant infinita illa tam assidue nascentia, quam nunquam finienda litigia, haec inquam dum apud me

considero, aequior Platoni fio, minusque demiror, dedignatum illis leges ferre vllas, qui recusabant eas quibus ex aequo omnes omnia partirentur commoda. Siquidem facile praeuidit homo prudentissimus, vnam atque vnicam illam esse viam ad salutem publicam, si rerum indicatur aequalitas, quae nescio an vnquam possit obseruari, vbi sua sunt singulorum propria. Nam quum certis titulis, quisque quantum potest ad se conuertit, quantacunque fuerit rerum copia, eam omnem pauci inter se partiti, reliquis relinquunt inopiam, fereque accidit, vt alteri sint alterorum sorte dignissimi, quum illi sint rapaces, improbi atque inutiles, contra hi modesti viri, ac simplices, & cotidiana industria, in publicum quam in semet beniniores. Adeo mihi certe persuadeo, res aequabili ac iusta aliqua ratione distribui, aut fœliciter agi cum rebus mortalium, nisi sublata prorsus proprietate, non posse. Sed manente illa, mansuram semper apud multo maximam multoque optimam hominum partem, egestatis & erumnarum anxiam atque ineuitabilem sarcinam. Quam vt fateor leuari aliquantulum posse, sic tolli plane contendo non posse. Nempe si statuatur ne quis supra certum agri modum possideat, & vti sit legitimus cuique census pecuniae, si fuerit legibus quibusdam cautum : vt neque sit princeps nimium potens, neque populus nimis insolens. | Tum magistratus ne ambiantur, neu dentur venum, aut sumptus in illis fieri sit necesse, alioquin & occasio datur per fraudem ac rapinas sarciendae pecuniae, & fit necessitas eis muneribus praeficiendi diuites, quae potius fuerat administranda prudentibus) talibus inquam legibus quemadmodum aegra assiduis solent fomentis fulciri corpora deploratae valitudinis, ita haec quoque mala leniri queant, ac mitigari vt sanentur vero atque in bonum redeant habitum nulla omnino spes est, dum sua cuique sunt propria. Quin dum vnius partis curae studes, aliarum vulnus exasperaueris : ita mutuo nascitur ex alterius medela alterius morbus : quando nihil sic adiici cuiquam potest vt non idem adimatur alii. At mihi inquam contra videtur ibi nunquam commode viui posse, vbi omnia sint communia. Nam quo pacto suppetat copia rerum, quolibet ab labore subducente se? vtpote quem neque sui questus vrget ratio, & alienae industriae fiducia reddit segnem. At quum & stimulentur inopia, neque quod quisquam fuerit nactus, id pro suo tueri nulla possit lege, an non necesse est perpetua cede ac seditione laboretur? Sublata praesertim authoritate ac reuerentia magistratuum cui quis esse locus possit, apud homines tales : quos inter nullum discrimen est, ne comminisci

quidem queo. Non miror inquit sic videri tibi, quippe cui eius imago rei, aut nulla succurrit, aut falsa. Verum si in Vtopia fuisses mecum, moresque eorum atque instituta videsses praesens, vt ego feci, qui plus annis quinque ibi vixi, neque vnquam voluissem inde discedere, nisi vt nouum illum orbem proderem. tum plane faterere, populum recte institutum nusquam alibi te vidisse quam illic. Atqui profecto inquit Petrus Aegidius aegre persuadeas mihi, melius institutum populum in nouo illo quam in hoc noto nobis orbe reperiri, vt in quo neque deteriora ingenia & vetustiores opinor esse quam in illo respublicas & in quibus plurima ad vitam commoda longus inuenit vsus vt ne adiiciam apud nos casu reperta quaedam, quibus excogitandis nullum potuisset ingenium sufficere. Quod ad vetustatem inquit ille rerum attinet publicarum, tum pronunciare posses rectius, | si historias illius orbis perlegisses, quibus si fides haberi debet prius apud eos erant vrbes, quam homines apud nos iam vero quicquid hactenus vel ingenium inuenit, vel casus repperit, hoc vtrobique potuit extitisse. Caeterum ego certe puto: vt illis praestemus ingenio, studio tamen atque industria longe a tergo relinquimur. Nam (vt ipsorum habent annales) ante appulsum illuc nostrum de rebus nostris (quos illi vocant vltra equinoctiales nih[i]l vnquam quicquam audierant, nisi quod olim annis ab hinc ducentis supra mille, nauis quaedam apud insulam Vtopiam naufragio perit, quam tempestas eo detulerat, eiecti sunt in littus Romani quidam, atque Aegiptii, qui postea nunquam inde discessere. Hanc vnam occasionem, vide quam commodam illis sua fecit industria. Nihil artis erat intra Romanum imperium, vnde possit aliquis esse vsus quod non illi aut ab expositis hospitibus didicerint: aut acceptis querendi seminibus adinuenerint. tanto bono fuit illis aliquos hinc semel illuc esse delatos. At siqua similis fortuna quempiam ante hac illinc huc perpulerit, tam penitus hoc obliteratum est, quam istud quoque forsan excidet posteris, me aliquando illic fuisse. Et vt illi vno statim congressu quicquid a nobis commode inuentum est, fecerunt suum: Sic diu futurum puto, priusquam nos accipiamus quicquam quod apud illos melius quam nobis est institutum. Quod vnum maxime esse reor in causa, cur cum neque ingenio neque opibus inferiores simus eis ipsorum tamen res quam nostra prudentius administretur, & fœlicius efflorescat. Ergo mi raphael inquam queso te atque obsecro, describe nobis insulam, nec velis esse breuis, sed explices ordine, Agros, fluuios, vrbes, homines, mores, instituta, leges,

ac denique omnia, quae nos putes velle cognoscere, putabis autem velle quicquid adhuc nescimus. Nihil inquit faciam libentius. Nam haec in promptu habeo. Sed res ocium poscit. Eamus ergo inquam intro pransum, mox tempus nostro arbitratu sumemus. Fiat inquit. Ita ingressi prandemus, pransi, in eundem reuersi locum, in eodem sedili consedimus, ac iussis ministris ne quis interpellaret, Ego ac Petrus Aegidi- | us hortamur Raphaelem, vt praestet quod erat pollicitus. Is ergo vbi nos vidit intentos, atque auidos audiendi, quum paulisper tacitus & cogitabundus assedisset, hunc in modum exorsus est

Primi libri finis. Sequitur secundus.

RAPHAHELIS HYTHLODEI SERMO DE OPTIMO REIPUBLICAE STATV PER THOMAM MORVM. LIBER SECVNDVS

Situs et forma Vtopie noue insule.

VTOPIENSIVM insula in media sui parte (nam hac latissima est) millia passuum ducenta porrigitur : magnumque per insulae spacium non multo angustior : fines versus paulatim vtrinque tenuatur. hi velut circunducti circino quingentorum ambitu millium : insulam totam in lunae speciem renascentis effigiant. Cuius cornua fretum interfluens : millibus passuum plus minus vndecim dirimit : ac per ingens inane diffusum : circuniectu vndique terrae prohibitis ventis : vasti in morem lacus stagnans magis quam saeuiens : omnem prope eius terrae aluum pro portu facit. magnoque hominum vsu naues quaqua versus transmittit. fauces hinc vadis : inde saxis formidolosae. In medio ferme interstitio vna rupes aeminet : eoque innoxia : cui inaedificatam turrim praesidio tenent. caeterae latentes & insidiosae. Canales solis ipsis noti : atque ideo non temere accidit : vti exterus quisquam hunc in sinum : nisi Vtopiano duce : penetret : vt in quem vix ipsis tutus ingressus est : nisi signis quibusdam e litore viam regentibus. His in diuersa translatis loca : hostium quamlibet numerosam classem facile in perniciem traherent. Ab altera parte non infrequentes portus. At nusquam descensus in terram non ita natura munitus aut arte : quin in- | gentes copiae paucis inde queant propugnatoribus arceri Caeterum vti fertur : vtique ipsa loci facies prae se fert ea

Locus natura tutus vnico praesidio defendi

Stratagema ex mutatis signis

Utopia insula ab Utopo duce

tellus olim non ambiebatur mari. Sed Vtopus (cuius vtpote victoris nomen refert insula. Nam ante id temporis Abraxa dicebatur : quique rudem atque agrestem turbam ad id quo nunc caeteros prope mortales antecellit cultus humanitatisque perduxit) primo protinus appulsu victoria potitus : passuum milia quindecim, qua parte tellus continenti adhaesit : exscindendum curauit : ac mare circum terram duxit. Quunque ad id operis non incolas modo coegisset (ne contumeliae loco laborem ducerent) sed suos praeterea milites omnes adiungeret : in tantam hominum multitudinem opere distributo incredibili celeritate res perfecta, finitimos (qui initio vanitatem incœpti riserant) admiratione successus ac terrore perculerit. Insula ciuitates habet quatuor & quinquaginta spaciosas omnes & magnificas lingua : moribus : institutis : legibus : prorsus iisdem : idem situs omnium : eadem vbique quatenus per locum licet : rerum facies. Harum quae proximae inter se sunt millia quatuor ac viginti separant. Nulla rursus est tam deserta : e qua non ad aliam vrbem pedibus queat vnius itinere diei peruenire. Ciues quaque ex vrbe terni senes ac rerum periti tractatum de rebus insulae communibus : quotannis conueniunt Amaurotum. Nam (ea vrbs quod tanquam in vmbilico terrae sita maxime iacet omnium partium legatis oportuna) prima princepsque habetur : Agri ita commode ciuitatibus assignati sunt : vt ab nulla parte minus soli quam xii. passuum millia vna quaeuis habeat. ab aliqua multo etiam amplius : videlicet qua parte longius vrbes inter se disiunguntur. Nulli vrbi cupido promouendorum finium. Quippe quos habent agricolas magis eorum se quam dominos putant. Habent ruri per omnes agros commode dispositas domos : rusticis instrumentis instructas. Hae habitantur ciuibus per vices eo commigrantibus. Nulla familia rustica in viris mulieribusque pauciores habet, quam quadraginta praeter duos ascriptitios seruos : quibus pater materque familias graues ac maturi praeficiuntur & | singulis tricenis familiis phylarchus vnus. E quaque familia xx. quotannis in vrbem remigrant : hi qui biennium ruri compleuere : In horum locum totidem recentes ex vrbe subrogantur : vt ab his qui annum ibi fuere : atque ideo rusticarum peritiores rerum : instituantur : alios anno sequente docturi ne si pariter omnes ibi noui, agricolationisque rudes essent : aliquid in annona per imperitiam peccaretur. Is innouandorum agricolarum mos : & si solennis sit : ne quisquam inuitus asperiorem vitam cogatur continuare diutius. Multi tamen quos rusticae rei studium natura

Hoc plus erat quam isthmum perfodere.

Facile fertur quod omnibus commune sit

Oppida Utopie insule.

Similitudo concordiam facit

Urbium inter se mediocre interuallum

Distributio agrorum

At hinc hodie pestis rerumpublicarum omnium

Prima cura agricolationis

delectat : plures sibi annos impetrant. Agricolae terram colunt : nutriunt animalia : ligna comparant : atque in vrbem qua commodum est terra mariue conuehunt. Pullorum infinitam educant multitudinem : mirabili artificio. Neque enim incubant oua galline : sed magnum eorum numerum calore quodam aequabili fouentes animant : educantque : hi simul atque e testa prodiere : homines vice matrum comitantur & agnoscunt. Equos alunt perquam paucos nec nisi ferocientes : neque alium in vsum quam exercendae rebus equestribus iuuentuti. Nam omnem seu colendi seu vehendi laborem boues obeunt, quos vt fatentur equis impetu cedere : sic patientia vincere : nec tot obnoxios morbis putant : ad haec minore impendio & operae & sumptus ali : Ac denique laboribus emeritos : in cibum tandem vsui esse. Semente in solum panem vtuntur. Nam aut vuarum vinum bibunt : aut pomorum pirorumue : aut denique aquam nonnunquam meram : saepe etiam : qua mel aut glycyrizam incoxerint : cuius haud exiguam habent copiam. Quum exploratum habeant (habent enim certissimum) quantum annonae consumat vrbs : & circuniectus vrbi conuentus : tamen multo amplius & sementis faciunt & pecudum educant quam quod in suos vsus sufficiat : reliquum impartituri finitimis. Quibuscunque rebus opus est : quae res ruri non habentur : eam supellectilem omnem ab vrbe petunt : & sine vlla rerum commutatione : a magistratibus vrbanis nullo negotio consequuntur. Nam illi singulo quoque mense : plaerique ad festum diem conueniunt. Quum frumentandi dies instat, magistratibus vrbanis agricolarum phylarchi denuntiant, quantum ciuium numerum ad se mitti conueniat, quae multitudo frumentatorum, quum ad ipsum diem oportune adsit, vno prope sereno die tota frumentatione defunguntur.

Agricolarum officia

Mira ratio fouendi oua.

Usus equorum.

Usus boum

Cibus ac potus.

Modus sementis.

Mutua opera quantum valeat.

De Vrbibus, ac nominatim de Amauroto.

Vrbium qui vnam norit, omnes nouerit. ita sunt inter se (quatenus loci natura non obstat) omnino similes. Depingam igitur vnam quampiam (neque enim admodum refert quam) Sed quam potius quam Amaurotum, qua nec vlla dignior est, quippe cui senatus gratia reliquae deferunt, nec vlla mihi notior vt in qua annos quinque perpetuos vixerim. Situm est igitur Amaurotum, in leni deiectu montis, figura fere quadrata. Nam latitudo eius paulo infra coilis incœpta verticem, millibus passuum duobus ad flumen Anydrum pertinet secundum ripam aliquanto longior. Oritur Anydrus millibus octaginta

Amauroti primarie Vtopiensium vrbis descriptio

Anydri fluminis descriptio

supra Amaurotum, modico fonte, sed aliorum occursu fluminum, atque in his duorum etiam mediocrium auctus, ante vrbem ipsam: quingentos in latum passus extenditur, mox ad huc amplior: sexaginta millia prolapsus: excipitur oceano. Hoc toto spacio quod vrbem ac mare interiacet: ac supra vrbem quoque aliquot milia: sex horas perpetuas influens aestus: ac refluus alternat: celeri flumine. Quum sese pelagus infert: triginta in longum millia: totum Anydri alueum suis occupat vndis: profligato retrorsum fluuio. Tum aliquanto vltra liquorem eius salsugine corrumpit: dehinc paulatim dulcescens amnis: sincerus vrbem perlabitur: ac refugientem vicissim purus & incorruptus: ad ipsas prope fauces insequitur. Vrbs aduersae fluminis ripae: non pilis ac sublicibus ligneis: sed ex opere lapideo: egregie arcuato ponte: commissa est. Ab ea parte quae longissime distat a mari: quo naues totum id latus vrbis possint inoffense praeteruehi. Habent alium praeterea gurgitem: haud magnum quidem illum: sed perquam placidum ac iucundum. Nam ex eodem scaturiens monte: in quo ciuitas | collocatur: mediam illam per deuexa perfluens Anydro miscetur. Eius fluuii caput fontemque, quod paulo extra vrbem nascitur, munimentis amplexi, Amaurotani iunxerunt oppido, ne si qua vis hostium ingruat intercipi atque auerti aqua, neue corrumpi queat. Inde canalibus coctilibus, diuersim ad inferiores vrbis partes aqua diriuatur. id sicubi locus fieri vetat, cisternis capacibus: collecta plunia: tantundem vsus adfert. Murus altus ac latus, oppidum cingit: turribus ac propugnaculis frequens. arida fossa, sed alta lataque ac veprium sepibus impedita tribus ab lateribus circumdat mœnia: quarto flumen ipsum pro fossa est. Plateae cum ad vecturam, tum aduersus ventos descriptae commode aedificia neutiquam sordida, quorum longa, & totum per vicum, perpetua series, aduersa domorum fronte conspicitur. has vicorum frontes: via distinguit pedes viginti lata posterioribus aedium partibus, quanta est vici longitudo: hortus adiacet: latus & vicorum tergis, vndique circumseptus. Nulla domus est, quae non vt hostium in plateam, ita posticum in hortum habeat. Quin bifores quoque facili tractu manus apertiles, ac dein sua sponte coeuntes: quemuis intromittunt, ita nihil vsquam priuati est. Nam domos ipsas vno quoque decennio sorte commutant. Hos hortos magnifaciunt, in hiis vineas: fructus: herbas: flores, habent. tanto nitore, cultuque: vt nihil fructuosius vsquam viderim: nihil elegantius. qua in re studium eorum: non ipsa voluptas

Idem fit apud anglos in flumine thamysi.

Et in hoc Londinum cum amauroto conuenit.

Usus aque potabilis.

Menium munimenta

Platee cuiusmodi

Edificia.

Orti edibus adherentes.

Hecsapiunt comitatem Platonis

modo, sed vicorum quoque inuicem de suo cuiusque horti cultu: certamen accendit. & certe, non aliud quicquam temere vrbe tota reperias: siue ad vsum ciuium siue ad voluptatem commodius. eoque nullius rei quam huiusmodi hortorum, maiorem habuisse curam videtur is qui condidit. Nam totam hanc vrbis figuram, iam ab initio descriptam: ab ipso Vtopo ferunt. Sed cultum quibus vnius aetatem hominis haud suffecturam vidit, posteris adiiciendum reliquit. Itaque scriptum in annalibus habent, quos ab capta vsque insula, mille septingentorum ac sexaginta annorum complectentes historiam, diligenter & religiose perscriptos adseruant, aedes initio humiles, ac veluti casas, & tuguria fuisse, quolibet ligno temere factas, parie- | tes obductos luto, culmina in aciem fastigiata stramentis operuerant. At nunc omnis domus visenda forma tabulatorum trium, parietum facies, aut silice, aut lapide duro, aut denique coctili constructae, in alueum introrsus congesto rudere, Tecta in planum subducta, quae sementis quibusdam insternunt. nullius impendii sed ea temperatura quae nec igni obnoxia sit & tolerandis tempestatum iniuriis plumbum superet. Ventos e fenestris vitro (nam eius ibi creberrimus vsus est) expellunt. Interim etiam lino tenui: quod perlucido oleo aut succino perlinunt, gemino nimirum commodo. Siquidem ad eum modum fit, vt & plus lucis transmittat, & ventorum minus admittat.

Utilitas hortorum etiam Maroni predicata.

Vitree aut linteate fenestre.

De Magistratibus.

Triginta quaeque familiae magistratum sibi quotannis eligunt, quem sua prisca lingua Syphograntum vocant, recentiore phylarchum, Syphograntis decem cum suis familiis Traniborus olim, nunc protophylarchus dictus praeficitur. Demum Syphograntí omnes qui sunt ducenti, iurati lecturos sese quem maxime censent vtilem, suffragiis occultis renunciant principem vnum videlicet ex his quatuor: quos eis populus nominauit. Nam a quaque vrbis quarta parte, selectus vnus commendatur senatui, principis magistratus perpetuus est in omnem illius vitam, nisi tyrannidis affectatae suspitio impediat. Traniboros quotannis eligunt. caeterum haud temere commutant. Reliqui magistratus omnes annui. Tranibori tertio quoque die, interdum si res postulat saepius, in consilium cum principe veniunt. De republica consultant, controuersias priuatorum (si quae sunt) quae perquam paucae sunt, mature dirimunt. Syphograntos semper in senatum duos asciscunt, atque omni die diuersos, cautumque vt

Traniborus vtopiensium lingua sonat prefectum primarium

Mira ratio creandi magistratus.

Tyrannis inuisa bene institute reipublicae.

Cito dirimende controuersie: quas nunc data opera in immensum pro rogant.

ne quid ratum sit quod ad rempublicam pertineat, de quo non tribus in senatu diebus ante agitatum, quam decretum sit. Extra senatum, aut comicia publica de rebus communibus inire consilia capitale habetur. Hec eo ferunt instituta, ne procliue esset coniuratione principis, ac traniborum, oppresso per tyrannidem populo, statum reipublicae mutare. Atque ideo quicquid magni momenti iudicatur: ad Syphograntorum comitia defertur, qui cum suis familiis communicata re, post inter se consultant, ac suum consilium | renunciant senatui. Interdum ad totius insulae consilium, res defertur. Quin id quoque moris habet senatus, vt nihil, quo die primum proponitur, eodem disputetur: sed in sequentem senatum differatur, ne quis vbi quod in buccam primum venerit, temere effutierit, ea potius excogitet postea, quibus decreta tueatur sua quam quae ex reipublicae vsu sint. malitque salutis publicae quam opinionis de se iacturam facere, peruerso quodam ac praepostero pudore, ne initio parum prospexisse videatur Cui prospiciendum initio fuit, vt consulto potius quam cito loqueretur.

Nihil subito staduendum.

Utinam idem hodie fiat in nostris consiliis.

Hoc sibi volebat vetus prouerbium ἐν νυκτὶ βουλή.

De Artificiis.

Agricolatio communis omnium: quam nunc in paucos contemptos reiicimus.

Ars vna est omnibus viris, mulieribusque promiscua agricultura, cuius nemo est expers. Hac a pueritia erudiuntur omnes, partim in schola traditis praeceptis: partim in agros viciniores vrbi quasi per ludum edocti, non intuentes modo, sed per exercitandi corporis occasionem tractantes etiam. Praeter agriculturam (quae est omnibus vt dixi communis) quilibet vnam quampiam, tanquam suam docetur, ea est fere aut lanificium, aut operandi lini studium, aut cementatoriorum: aut fabri, seu ferrarii seu materiarii artificium. Neque enim aliud est opificium vllum, quod numerum aliquem, dictu dignum occupet illic. Nam vestes, quarum nisi quod habitu sexus discernitur, & caelibatus a coniugio, vna per totam insulam, forma est, eademque per omne aeuum perpetua, nec ad oculum indecora, & ad corporis motum habilis, tum ad frigoris aestusque rationem apposita. Eas inquam, quaeque sibi familia conficit. Sed ex aliis illis artibus, vnusquisque aliquam discit nec viri modo, sed mulieres etiam. caeterum hae velut imbecilliores, leuiora tractant: lanam fere linumque operantur, viris artes reliquae magis laboriose mandantur: maxima ex parte quisque in patris artibus educatur. Nam eo plaerique natura feruntur. quod si quem animus alio trahat, in eius opificii cuius capitur studio, familiam quampiam

Artes ad necessitatem non ad luxum discendae

Cultus simplicitudo.

Nemo ciuium expers artificii.

Ad quam quisque natura sit appositus: eam discat artem

adoptione traducitur. cura non a patre modo eius sed magistratibus etiam prestita, vt graui atque honesto patrifamilias mancipetur. Quin | si quis vnam perdoctus artem, aliam praeterea cupiuerit, eodem modo permittitur. Vtramque nactus, vtram velit exercet, nisi alterutra ciuitas magis egeat.

Syphograntorum praecipuum ac prope vnicum negocium est, curare ac prospicere, ne quisquam desideat ociosus Sed vti suae quisque arti saedulo incumbat, nec ab summo mane tamen : ad multam vsque noctem perpetuo labore, velut iumenta, fatigatus, nam ea plusquam seruilis erumna est, quae tamen vbique fere opificum vita est, exceptis Vtopiensibus qui cum in horas. xxiiii. aequales, diem comnumerata nocte diuidant, sex duntaxat operi deputant : tres ante meridiem, a quibus prandium ineunt, atque a prandio duas pomeridianas horas, quum interquieuerint tres deinde rursus labori datas, cœna claudunt. Quum primam horam ab meridie numerent : sub octauam cubitum eunt. horas octo somnus vendicat. Quicquid inter operis horas ac somni cibique medium esset : id suo cuiusque arbitrio permittitur : non quo per luxum, aut segnitiem abutatur, sed quod ab opificio suo liberum, ex animi sententia in aliud quippiam studii bene collocet. has intercapedines plerique impendunt literis. Solemne est enim publicas cotidie lectiones haberi, antelucanis horis, quibus vt intersint, ii dumtaxat adiguntur, qui ad literas nominatim selecti sunt. Caeterum ex omni ordine mares simul, ac fœminae multitudo maxima ad audiendas lectiones, alii alias, provt cuiusque fert natura confluit. Hoc ipsum tempus tamen, si quis arti suae malit insumere quod multis vsu venit (quorum animus in nullius contemplatione disciplinae consurgit) haud prohibetur, quin laudatur quoque, vt vtilis reipublicae. super caenam tum vnam horam ludendo producunt. aestate in hortis, hyeme in aulis illis communibus, in quibus comedunt. Ibi aut musicen exercent aut se sermone recreant. Aleam atque id genus ineptos ac perniciosos ludos ne cognoscunt quidem, caeterum duos habent in vsu ludos : latrunculorum ludo non dissimiles. Alterum numerorum pugnam, in qua numerus numerum praedatur. Alterum in quo collata acie cum | virtutibus vicia confligunt. Quo in ludo perquam scite ostenditur & viciorum inter se dissidium : & aduersus virtutes concordia. item quae vicia : quibus se virtutibus opponant : quibus viribus aperte oppugnent : quibus machinamentis ab obliquo adoriantur : quo praesidio : virtutes viciorum vires infringant : quibus artibus eorum conatus eludant :

Ociosi pellendi e re publica.

Moderandus opificum labor

Studia literarum.

Lusus in cenis.

At nunc alea principum lusus est.

Lusus vtiles quoque

quibus denique modis alterutra pars victoriae compos fiat. ¶ Sed hoc loco: ne quid erretis quiddam pressius intuendum est. Etenim quod sex duntaxat horas in opere sunt: fieri fortasse potest: vt inopiam aliquam putes: necessariarum rerum sequi Quod tam longe abest vt accidat: vt id temporis ad omnium rerum copiam quae quidem ad vitae vel necessitatem requirantur vel commoditatem non sufficiat modo: sed supersit etiam: id quod vos quoque intelligetis si vobiscum reputetis apud alias gentes, quam magna populi pars iners degit. primum mulieres fere omnes: totius summae dimidium: aut sicubi mulieres negociosae sunt: ibi vt plurimum: earum vice, viri stertunt. ad haec; sacerdotum ac religiosorum, quos vocant quanta quamque ociosa turba: adiice diuites omnes maxime praediorum dominos: quos vulgo generosos appellant ac nobiles. his adnumera ipsorum famulitium: totam videlicet illam cetratorum nebulonum colluuiem robustos denique ac valentes mendicos adiunge morbum quempiam praetexentes inertiae, multo certe pauciores esse quam putaras inuenies eos, quorum labore constant haec omnia quibus mortales vtuntur. Expende nunc tecum ex his ipsis quam pauci in necessariis opificiis versantur. siquidem vbi omnia pecuniis metimur: multas artes necesse est exerceri inanes prorsus ac superfluas: luxus tantum ac libidinis ministras: nam haec ipsa multitudo quae nunc operatur si partiretur in tam paucas artes: quam paucas commodus naturae vsus postulat: in tanta rerum abundantia: quantam nunc esse necesse sit, precia nimirum viliora forent quam vt artifices inde vitam tueri suam possent. At si isti omnes quos nunc inertes artes distringunt: ac tota insuper ocio ac desidia languescens turba quorum vnus quiuis earum rerum quae aliorum laboribus suppeditantur: quantum duo earundem operatores consumit: in opera vniuersi atque eadem vtilia collocarentur: facile animaduertis: quantulum temporis ad suppeditanda omnia: quae vel necessitatis ratio: vel commoditatis efflagitet (adde voluptatis etiam quae quidem vera sit ac | naturalis) abunde satis superque foret: atque id ipsum in Vtopia res ipsa perspicuum facit. Nam illic in tota vrbe cum adiacente vicinia vix homines quingenti ex omni virorum ac mulierum numero quorum aetas ac robur operi sufficit vacatio permittitur. In hiis syphogranti quanquam leges eos labore soluerunt. ipsi tamen sese non eximunt: quo facilius exemplo suo reliquos ad labores inuitent. Eadem immunitate gaudent hi: quos commendatione sacerdotum, persuasus populus occultis

Ociosorum hominum genera.

δορυφορημα nobilium.

Prudentissime dictum.

Ne magistratus quidem ob opere cessant

syphograntorum suffragiis ad perdiscendas disciplinas perpetuam vacationem indulget. Quorum si quis conceptam de se spem fefellerit: ad opifices retruditur, contraque non rarenter vsu venit: vt mechanicus quispiam, subcisiuas illas horas tam gnaviter impendat literis tantum diligentia proficiat, vt opificio suo exemptus in literatorum classem prouehatur Ex hoc literatorum ordine legati sacerdotes. tranibori ac ipse denique deligitur princeps quem illi prisca ipsorum lingua Barzanem, recentiore Ademum appellant. Reliqua fere multitudo omnis: quum neque ociosa sit: nec inutilibus opificiis occupata procliuis estimatio est quam paucae horae quantum boni operis pariant ad ea quae commemoraui hoc praeterea facilitatis accedit quod in necessariis plerisque artibus, minore opera quam aliae gentes: opus habent. Nam primum aedificiorum, aut structura: aut refectio ideo tam multorum assiduam vbique requirit operam, quod quae pater aedificauit: heres parum frugi, paulatim dilabi sinit ita quod minimo tueri potuit: successor eius de integro impendio magno cogitur instaurare. quin frequenter etiam quae domus alii ingenti sumptu stetit, hanc alius delicato animo contemnit eaque neglecta: atque ideo breui collapsa: aliam alibi impensis non minoribus extruit At apud Vtopienses compositis rebus omnibus: & constituta republica rarissime accidit: vti noua collocandis aedibus area deligatur & non modo remedium celeriter praesentibus viciis adhibetur, sed etiam imminentibus occurritur. Ita fit vt minimo labore, diutissime perdurent aedificia & id genus opifices vix habeant interdum quod agant: nisi quod dolare domi & lapides interim quadrare atque aptare iubentur, quo (si quod opus incidat) maturius possit exurgere. Iam in vestibus vide, quam pauci operis egeant: primum dum in opere sunt: corio neglectim aut pellibus amiciuntur, quae in septennium durent. quum procedunt in publicum superinduunt chlamydem vestem, quae rudio- | res illas vestes contegat: eius per totam insulam vnus color est: atque is natiuus. Itaque lanei panni: non modo multo minus quam vsquam alibi sufficit: verum is ipse quoque multo minoris impendii est. at lini minor est labor: eoque vsus crebrior, sed in lineo solus candor: in laneo sola mundicies conspicitur: nullum tenuioris fili precium est. Itaque fit vt quum alibi nusquam: vni homini quatuor aut quinque togae laneae diuersis coloribus: ac totidem sericiae tunicae sufficiant: delicatioribus paulo ne decem quidem: ibi vna quisque contentus: plaerumque in biennium. Quippe nec

Soli literati ad magistratus vocantur.

Quomodo vtentur impense in edificiis.

Quomodo in amictu.

causa est vlla cur plures affectet: quas consecutus neque aduersus frigus esset munitior: neque vestitu videretur vel pilo cultior. Quamobrem quum & omnes vtilibus sese artibus exerceant: & ipsarum etiam opera pauciora sufficiant: fit nimirum: vt habundante rerum omnium copia: interdum in reficiendas (si quae detritae sunt) vias publicas immensam multitudinem educant. persaepe etiam quum nec talis cuiuspiam operis vsus occurrat. pauciores horas operandi publice denuntient. neque enim superuacaneo labore ciues inuitos exercent magistratus: quandoquidem eius reipublicae institutio hunc vnum scopum in primis respicit: vt quoad per publicas necessitates licet: quam plurimum temporis ab seruitio corporis ad animi libertatem cultumque ciuibus vniuersis asseratur. In eo enim sitam vitae felicitatem putant.

De Commerciis Mutuis.

Sed iam quo pacto sese mutuo ciues vtantur: quae populi inter se commercia: quaeque sit distribuendarum rerum forma videtur explicandum. Quum igitur ex familiis constet ciuitas: familias vt plurimum: cognationes efficiunt. Nam fœminae (vbi maturuerint) collocatae maritis: in ipsorum domicilia concedunt. at masculi filii: ac deinceps nepotes: in familia permanent: & parentum antiquissimo parent. nisi prae senecta mente parum valuerit: tunc enim aetate proximus ei sufficitur. Verum ne ciuitas aut fieri infrequentior: aut vltra modum possit increscere: cauetur: ne vlla familia: quarum | millia sex, quaeque ciuitas: excepto conuentu, complectitur: pauciores quam decem: pluresve quam sexdecim puberes habeat. Inpuberum enim nullus prefiniri numerus potest. Hic modus facile seruatur transcriptis hiis in rariores familias, qui in plenioribus excrescunt. at si quando in totum plus iusto abundauerit: aliarum vrbium suarum infrequentiam sarciunt. si forte per totam insulam plus aequo moles intumuerit tum ex qualibet vrbe descriptis ciuibus in continente proximo vbicunque indigenis agri multum superest, & cultu vacat: coloniam suis ipsorum legibus propagant, ascitis vna terrae indigenis si conuiuere secum velint. cum volentibus coniuncti in idem vitae institutum: eosdemque mores, facile coalescunt, idque vtriusque populi bono. efficiunt enim suis institutis vt ea terra, vtrisque abunda sit: quae alteris ante parca ac maligna videbatur. Renuentes ipsorum legibus viuere, propellunt. Hii finibus quos sibi ipsi describunt, aduersus repugnantes, bello confligunt. nam eam iustissimam belli causam

Numerus ciuium.

ducunt, quum populus quispiam eius soli quo ipse non vtitur, sed velut inane ac vacuum possidet, aliis tamen qui ex naturae praescripto inde nutriri debeant, vsum ac possessionem interdicat. Siquando vllas ex suis vrbibus aliquis casus, eousque imminuerit, vt ex aliis insulae partibus seruato suo cuiusque vrbis modo, resarciri non possint (quod bis dumtaxat ab omni euo pestis grassante saeuicia fertur contigisse) remigrantibus e colonia ciuibus replentur. Perire enim colonias potius patiuntur, quam vllam ex insulanis vrbibus imminui. Sed ad conuictum ciuium reuertor. Antiquissimus vt dixi praeest familiae, ministri sunt vxores maritis, & liberi parentibus, atque in summa minores natu maioribus. Ciuitas omnis in quattuor aequales partes diuiditur, in medio cuiusque partis forum est omnium rerum. Eo in certas domos opera cuiusque familiae conuehuntur atque in horrea singulae seorsum species distributae sunt. Ab hiis quilibet paterfamilias quibus ipse suique opus habent, petit, ac sine pecunia sine omni prorsus hostimento quicquid petierit, aufert. quare enim negetur | quicquam? quum & omnium rerum abunde satis sit, nec timor vllus subsit, ne quisquam plusquam sit opus flagitare velit? Nam cur superuacua petiturus putetur is, qui certum habeat, nihil sibi vnquam defuturum? Nempe auidum ac rapacem, aut timor carendi facit, in omni animantum genere, aut in homine sola reddit superbia, quae gloriae sibi ducit, superflua rerum ostentatione caeteros antecellere, quod vicii genus in Vtopiensium institutis nullum omnino locum habet. Adiuncta sunt foris (quae commemoravi) fora cibaria, in quae non olera modo, fructusque & panes comportantur, sed pisces praeterea carnesque extra vrbem locis appositis vbi fluento tabum ac sordes eluantur, pecudes occisas depuratasque manibus famulorum (nam neque suos ciues patiuntur assuescere laniatu animalium, cuius vsu clementia humanissimum naturae nostrae affectum paulatim deperire putant, neque sordidum quicquam atque immundum cuius putretudine corruptus aer morbum posset inuehere) perferri in vrbem sinunt. Habet praeterea quilibet vicus, aulas quasdam capaces, aequali ab sese inuicem interuallo distantes, nomine quanque suo: cognitas has colunt syphogranti. Quarum vnicuique triginta familiae videlicet ab vtroque latere quindecim sunt adscriptae cibum ibi sumpturae. Obsonatores cuiusque aulae, certa hora conueniunt in forum, ac relato suorum numero, cibum petunt. Sed prima ratio aegrotorum habetur, qui in publicis hospitiis curantur. Nam quattuor habent in ambitu ciuitatis

Sic excludi potest ociosa turba ministrorum.

Rapacitas vnde.

Tabes ac sordes pestem inuehit ciuitatibus.

Ex pecudum laniena didicimus et homines inguiare.

Cura egrotorum.

hospitia, paulo extra muros tam capacia vt totidem oppidulis aequari possint, tum vt neque aegrotorum numerus quamlibet magnus anguste collocaretur, & per hoc incommode, tum quo hii qui tali morbo tenerentur, cuius contagio solet ab alio ad alium serpere, longius aliorum cœtu semoueri possint. Haec hospitia ita sunt instructa atque omnibus rebus quae ad salutem conferant referta, tum tam tenera ac sedula cura adhibetur, tam assidua medicorum peritissimorum praesentia, vt quum illuc nemo mittatur inuitus, nemo tamen fere in tota vrbe sit qui aduersa valetudine laborans, non | ibi decumbere quam

Conuiuia communia promiscuaque.

domi suae praeferat. Quum aegrotorum obsonator cibos ex medicorum prescripto receperit, deinceps optima quaeque inter aulas aequabiliter pro suo cuiusque numero distribuuntur, nisi quod principis, pontificis, & traniborum respectus habetur ac legatorum etiam, & exterorum omnium (si qui sunt, qui pauci ac raro sunt) sed hiis quoque cum adsunt domicilia certa atque instructa parantur. Ad has aulas prandii caenaeque statis horis tota syphograntia conuenit aeneae tubae clangore commonefacta, nisi qui aut in hospitiis, aut domi decumbunt. quanquam nemo prohibetur, postquam aulis est satisfactum e foro domum cibum petere, sciunt enim neminem id temere facere, nam & si domi

Ut vbique libertatis habetur ratio: ne quid fiat a coactis.

prandere nulli vetitum sit, nemo tamen hoc libenter facit, cum neque honestum habeatur, & stultum sit deterioris parandi prandii sumere laborem, cum lautum atque oppiparum presto apud aulam, tam propinquam sit. In hac

Femine ministre in conuiuiis

aula ministeria omnia in quibus paulo plus sordis, aut laboris est, obeunt serui. Caeterum coquendi parandique cibi officium, & totius denique instruendi conuiuii solae mulieres exercent, cuiusque videlicet familiae per vices. Tribus pluribusue mensis pro numero conuiuarum discumbitur Viri ad parietem, fœminae exterius collocantur. vt si quid his subiti oboriatur mali, quod vterum gerentibus interdum solet accidere, imperturbatis ordinibus exurgant, atque inde ad nutrices abeant. Sedent illae quidem seorsum cum lactantibus in caenaculo quodam ad id destinato, nunquam sine foco atque aqua munda, nec absque cunis interim, vt & reclinare liceat infantulos, & ad ignem cum velint exemptos fasciis libertate ac ludo reficere, Suae quaeque soboli nutrix est, nisi aut mors, aut morbus impediat, id cum accidit vxores

Laude & officio ciues optime inuitantur ad recte agendum

syphograntorum propere nutricem quaerunt, nec id difficile est. Nam quae id praestare possunt, nulli officio sese offerunt libentius, quoniam & omnes eam misericordiam laude prosequuntur, & qui educatur nutricem

parentis agnoscit loco. In antro nutricum consident pueri omnes, qui primum lustrum [non] expleuere. caeteri impuberes, quo in numero ducunt quicumque sexus alterius vtrius intra nubiles annos sunt, aut ministrant discumbentibus, aut qui per aetatem nondum valent, adstant tamen, atque id summo cum silentio. vtrique quod a sedentibus porrigitur eo vescuntur, nec aliud discretum prandendi tempus habent. In medio primae mensae, qui summus locus est & cui (Nam | ea mensa suprema in parte caenaculi transuersa est) totus conuentus conspicitur: Syphograntus cum vxore considet. his adiunguntur duo ex natu maximis. sedent enim per omnes mensas quaterni: at si templum in ea syphograntia situm est sacerdos eiusque vxor ita cum syphogranto sedent vt praesideant. Ab vtraque parte collocantur iuniores: post senes rursus: atque hoc pacto per totam domum & aequales inter se iunguntur & dissimilibus tamen immiscentur: quod, ideo ferunt institutum: vt senum grauitas ac reuerentia (quum nihil ita in mensa fieri diciue potest vt eos ab omni parte vicinos effugiat) iuniores ab improba verborum gestuumque licentia cohibeat. Ciborum fercula non a primo loco deinceps apponuntur: sed senior[i]bus primum omnibus (quorum insignes loci sunt) optimus quisque cibus infertur. deinde reliquis aequaliter ministratur. At senes lauticias suas (quarum non tanta erat copia vt posset totam per domum affatim distribui) pro suo arbitratu circunsedentibus impartiuntur sic & maioribus natu suus seruator honos: & commodi tantundem tamen: ad omneis peruenit. Omne prandium caenanque ab aliqua lectione auspicantur: quae ad mores faciat: sed breui tamen ne fastidio sit. Ab hac seniores: honestos sermones: sed neque tristes nec infacetos ingerunt. At nec longis logis totum occupant prandium: quin audiunt libenter iuuenes quoque adeo de industria prouocant: quo & indolis cuiusque & ingenii per conuiuii libertatem prodentis sese: capiant experimentum. Prandia breuiuscula sunt: caenae largiores: quod labor illa: has somnus & nocturna quies excipit: quam illi ad salubrem concoctionem magis efficacem putant. Nulla caena sine musica transigitur. nec vllis caret secunda mensa bellariis. odores incendunt & vnguenta spergunt. nihilque non faciunt: quod exhilarare conuiuas possit: sunt enim hanc in partem aliquanto procliuiores: vt nullum voluptatis genus (ex quo nihil sequatur incommodi) censeant interdictum. hoc pacto igitur in vrbe conuiuunt: at ruri: qui longius ab sese dissiti sunt: omnes domi quisque

Educatio sobolis.

Sacerdos supra principem: At nunc etiam et episcopi iis mancipiorum vice sunt.

Juniores maioribus admixti.

Senum habita ratio.

Id hodie vix monachi obseruant

Sermones in conuiuiis

Id hodie mendici damnant.

Musica in conuiuio.

Voluptas innoxia non aspernanda

suae commedunt. Nulli | enim familiae quicquam ad victum deest: Quippe a quibus id totum venit quo vescantur vrbici.

De peregrinatione Vtopiensium.

At si quos aut amicorum alia in vrbe commorantium: aut ipsius etiam videndi loci desyderium cœperit a syphograntis ac traniboris suis veniam facile impetrant nisi si quis vsus impediat. Mittitur ergo simul numerus aliquis cum epistola principis: quae & datam peregrinandi copiam testatur: & reditus diem praescribit. Vehiculum datur cum seruo publico: qui agat boues & curet. caeterum nisi mulieres in cœtu habeant: vehiculum velut onus & impedimentum: remittitur. Toto itinere cum nihil secum efferant: nihil defit tamen vbique enim domi sunt: si quo in loco diutius vno die commorentur: suam ibi quisque artem exercet: atque ab artis eiusdem opificibus: humanissime tractantur. si semet authore quisquam extra suos fines vagetur: deprehensus sine principis diplomate: contumeliose habitus: pro fugitiuo reducitur: castigatus acriter. idem ausus denuo, seruitute plectitur. quod si quem libido incessat per suae ciuitatis agros palandi: venia patris & consentiente coniuge: non prohibetur: sed in quodcunque rus peruenerit: nullus ante cibus datur quam ante meridianum operis pensum. (aut quantum ante caenam ibi laborari solet) absoluerit: hac lege quouis intra suae vrbis fines ire licet. Erit enim non minus vtilis vrbi: quam si in vrbe esset. Iam videtis quam nulla sit vsquam ociandi licentia: nullus inertiae praetextus. Nulla taberna vinaria: nulla ceruisiaria: nusquam lupanar: nulla corruptelae occasio: nullae latebrae, conciliabulum nullum: sed omnium praesentes oculi necessitatem aut consueti laboris, aut ocii non inhonesti faciunt. Quem populi morem necesse est omnium rerum copiam sequi: atque ea quum aequabiliter ad omnes peruenirat: fit nimirum: vt inops esse nemo aut mendicus possit. In senatu Mentirano (quem vti dixi terni quotannis omni ex vrbe frequentant) vbi primum constiterit: quae res quoque loco abundet rursum cuius alicubi malignior prouentus fuerit: alterius inopiam al | terius protinus vbertas explet: atque id gratuito faciunt nihil vicissim ab his recipientes quibus donant. sed quae de suis rebus vnicuipiam vrbi dederint, nihil ab ea repetentes ab alia cui nihil impenderunt quibus egent accipiunt. Ita tota insula velut vna familia est. At postquam satis prouisum ipsis est. (quod non antea factum censent quam

O sanctam rempublicam: & vel christianis imitandam

Equabilitas facit vt omnibus sufficiat.

Respublica nihil aliud quam magna quedam familia est

in biennium propter anni sequentis euentum prospexerint) tum ex his quae supersunt magnam vim frumenti, mellis: lanae, lini: ligni, cocci: & conchyliorum: vellerum, cerae: seui, corii, ad haec animalium quoque in alias regiones exportant: quarum rerum omnium septimam partem inopibus eius regionis dono dant, reliquam precio mediocri venditant, quo ex commercio, non eas modo merces, quibus domi egent (nam id fere nihil est praeter ferrum) sed argenti atque auri praeterea: magnam vim in patriam reportant. Cuius rei diutina consuetudine supra quam credi possit: vbique iam earum rerum copia abundant. Itaque nunc parum pesi habent, praesente ne pecunia an in diem vendant, multoque maximam partem habeant in nominibus, in quibus tamen faciendis non priuatorum vnquam: sed confectis ex more instrumentis publicam vrbis fidem sequuntur. Ciuitas vbi solutionis dies aduenerit, a priuatis debitoribus exigit creditum: atque in aerarium redigit, eiusque pecuniae quoad ab Vtopiensibus repetatur vsura fruitur. Illi maximam partem nunquam repetunt. Nam quae res apud se nullum habet vsum: eam ab his auferre, quibus vsui est: haud aequum censent. Caeterum si res ita poscat: vt eius aliquam partem alii populo mutuam daturi sint, tum demum poscunt aut quum bellum gerendum est, quam in rem vnam totum illum thesaurum quem habent domi seruant: vti aut extremis in periculis: aut in subitis presidio sit. potissimum quo milites externos: quos libentius quam suos ciues obiiciunt discrimini immodico stipendio conducant: gnari multitudine pecuniae hostes ipsos plerumque mercabiles: & vel proditione vel infestis etiam signis inter se committi. Hanc ob causam inaestimabilem thesaurum seruant at non vt thesaurum tamen: sed ita habent: quomodo me narrare profecto deterret pudor, metuentem ne fidem oratio non sit habitura: quod eo iustius vereor: quo magis mihi sum conscius | nisi vidissem praesens quam aegre potuissem ipse perduci vt alteri idem recensenti crederem. Necesse est enim fere quam quicque est ab eorum qui audiunt moribus: alienum, tam idem procul illis abesse a fide. quanquam prudens rerum aestimator minus fortasse mirabitur quum reliqua eorum instituta, tam longe ab nostris differant: si argenti quoque atque auri vsus ad ipsorum potius: quam ad nostri moris rationem accommodetur. Nempe quum pecunia non vtantur ipsi: sed in eum seruent euentum, qui vt potest vsu venire, ita fieri potest vt nunquam incidat. Interim aurum argentumque (vnde ea fit) sic apud se habent vt ab nullo pluris aestimetur quam rerum ipsarum natura

Negociatio vtopiensium.

Ut nusquam non meminerunt sue communitatis.

Qua ratione possit esse vilis pecunia.

Satius est bellum pecunia aut arte declinare: quam multa sanguinis humani iactura gerere.

O artificem.

Aurum ferro vilius quantum ad vsum attinet.

meretur: qua quis non videt quam longe infra ferrum sunt? vt sine quo non hercle magis quam absque igni atque aqua viuere mortales queant. quin contra: velut parens indulgentissima optima quaeque in propatulo posuerit vt aerem aquam ac tellurem ipsam. Longissime vero vana ac nihil profutura semouerit. Ergo haec metalla si apud eos in turrim aliquam abstruderentur. princeps ac senatus in suspitionem venire posset (vt est vulgi stulta sollertia) ne deluso per technam populo: ipsi aliquo inde commodo fruerentur: porro si phyalas inde aliaque id genus opera fabre excusa conficerent: si quando incidisset occasio, vt conflanda sint rursus atque in militum eroganda stipendium, vident nimirum fore vt aegre patiantur auelli quae semel in deliciis habere cœpissent. His rebus vti occurrant: excogitauere quandam rationem: vt reliquis ipsorum institutis consentaneam: ita ab nostris (apud quos aurum tanti fit ac tam diligenter conditur) longissime abhorrentem. eoque nisi peritis non credibilem Nam quum in fictilibus e terra vitroque elegantissimis quidem illis, sed vilibus tamen edant bibantque, ex auro atque argento non in communibus aulis modo: sed in priuatis etiam domibus: matellas passim ac sordidissima quaeque vasa conficiunt. Ad hec cathenas & crassas compedes, quibus cohercent seruos: iisdem ex metallis operantur. postremo quoscumque aliquod crimen infames facit: ab horum auribus anuli dependent aurei, digitos aurum cingit, aurea torques ambit collum, & caput denique auro vincitur. ita omnibus curant modis vti apud se aurum argentumque in ignominia sint: atque hoc pacto fit, vt haec metalla, quae caetere gentes non minus fere dolenter ac viscera sua distrahi patiuntur, apud Vtopienses, si semel omnia res postularet efferri, nemo sibi iacturam vnius fecisse assis videretur. | Margaritas praeterea legunt in littoribus, quin in rupibus quibusdam adamantes ac pyropos quoque. neque tamen quaerunt, sed oblatos casu, perpoliunt. His ornant infantulos, qui vt primis puericiae annis, talibus ornamentis gloriantur, ac superbiunt. sic vbi plusculum accreuit aetatis, cum animadvertunt eiusmodi nugis non nisi pueros vti, nullo parentum monitu, sed suomet ipsorum pudore deponunt. non aliter ac nostri pueri quum grandescunt, nuces, bullas, & pupas abiiciunt. Itaque haec tam diuersa ab reliquis gentibus instituta, quam diuersas itidem animorum affectiones pariant, nunquam aeque mihi atque in Anemoliorum legatis inclaruit. Venerunt hi Amaurotum dum ego aderam, & quoniam magnis de rebus tractatum veniebant, aduentum eorum

O magnificam auri contumeliam.

Aurum gestamen infamium.

Gemme puerorum delicie.

Elegantissima fabula.

terni illi ciues, ex qualibet vrbe preuenerant, sed omnes finitimarum gentium legati, qui eo ante appulerant, quibus Vtopiensium perspecti mores erant, apud quos sumptuoso vestitui nihil honoris haberi intelligebant, sericum contemptui esse, aurum etiam infame sciebant, cultu quam poterant modestissimo venire consueuerant. At Anemolii, quod longius aberant, ac minus cum illis commercii habuerant, quum accepissent, eodem omnes, eoque rudi corporis cultu esse, persuasi non habere eos, quo non vtebantur, ipsi etiam superbi magis, quam sapientes decreuerunt apparatus elegantia, deos quosdam representare, & miserorum oculos Vtopiensium ornatus sui splendore praestringere. Itaque ingressi sunt legati tres, cum comitibus centum, omnes vestitu versicolori, plerique serico, legati ipsi (nam domi nobiles erant) amictu aureo, magnis torquibus, & inauribus aureis, ad haec anulis aureis in manibus, monilibus insuper appensis in pileo, quae margaritis ac gemmis affulgebant, omnibus postremo rebus ornati, quae apud Vtopienses aut seruorum suplicia, aut infamium dedecora, aut puerorum nugamenta fuere. Itaque operae precium erat videre, quo pacto cristas erexerint, vbi suum ornatum cum Vtopiensium vestitu (nam in plateis sese populus effuderat) contulere. contraque non minus erat voluptatis considerare quam longe sua eos spes expectatioque fefellerat, quamque longe ab ea | existimatione aberant, quam se consecuturos putauerant. Nempe Vtopiensium oculis omnium, exceptis praeterquam paucis, qui alias gentes aliqua idonea de causa inuiserant, totus ille splendor, apparatus pudendus videbatur, & infimum quemque pro dominis reuerenter salutantes, legatos ipsos ex aurearum vsu catenarum pro seruis habitos, sine vllo prorsus honore praetermiserunt. Quin pueros quoque vidisses, qui gemmas ac margaritas abiecerant, vbi in legatorum pileis affixas conspexerunt, ο τεχνίτην. compellare matrem ac latus fodere, En mater quam magnus nebulo margaritis adhuc & gemmulis vtitur ac si esset puerulus? At parens serio etiam illa, tace inquit fili, est opinor quispiam e morionibus legatorum. Alii cathenas illas aureas reprehendere, vtpote nullius vsus, quippe tam graciles, vt eas facile seruus infringere, tam laxas rursus, vti quum fuerit libitum possit excutere, & solutus ac liber quouis aufugere Verum legati postquam ibi vnum atque alterum diem versati tantam auri vim in tanta vilitate conspexerunt, nec in minore contumelia, quam apud se honore habitam vidissent, ad haec in vnius fugitiui serui cathenas compedesque plus auri, atque argenti congestum, quam totus ipsorum trium apparatus

constiterat, subsidentibus pennis omnem illum cultum quo sese tam arroganter extulerant pudefacti seposuerunt. Maxime vero postquam familiarius cum Vtopiensibus colloquuti, mores eorum atque opiniones didicere, mirantur illi siquidem quenquam esse mortalium quem exiguae gemmulae aut lapilli dubius oblectet fulgor, cui quidem stellam aliquam atque ipsum denique solem intueri, aut quenquam tam insanum esse, vt nobilior ipse sibi ob tenuioris lanae filum videatur: siquidem hanc ipsam (quantumuis tenui filo sit) ouis olim gestauit, nec aliud tamen interim, quam ouis fuit. Mirantur item aurum suapte natura tam inutile, nunc vbique gentium aestimari tanti, vt homo ipse per quem, atque adeo in cuius vsum id precii obtinuit, minoris multo quam aurum ipsum aestimetur, vsque adeo vt plumbeus quispiam, & cui non plus ingenii sit quam stipiti, nec minus etiam improbus quam stultus, multos tamen & sa | pientes & bonos viros in seruitute habeat, ob id duntaxat, quod ei magnus contigit aureorum numismatum cumulus, quem si qua fortuna, aut aliqua legum stropha (quae nihil minus ac fortuna ipsa summis ima permiscet) ab hero illo ad abiectissimum totius familiae suae nebulonem transtulerit, fit nimirum paulo post, vt in famuli sui famulicium concedat velut appendix additamentumque numismatum. Caeterum multo magis eorum mirantur ac detestantur insaniam qui diuitibus illis, quibus neque debent quicquam, neque sunt obnoxii, nullo alio respectu quam quod diuites sunt, honores tantum non diuinos impendunt, idque cum eos tam sordidos atque auaros cognoscunt, vt habeant certo certius ex tanto nummorum cumulo, viuentibus illis ne vnum quidem nummulum vnquam ad se venturum. Has atque huiusmodi opiniones partim ex educatione conceperunt. in ea educti republica, cuius instituta longissime ab his stultitiae generibus absunt, partim ex doctrina & litteris. Nam & si haud multi cuiusque vrbis sunt, qui caeteris exonerati laboribus soli disciplinae deputantur. hii videlicet in quibus a puericia egregiam indolem, eximium ingenium, atque animum ad bonas artes propensum deprehendere, tamen omnes pueri litteris imbuuntur & populi bona pars viri, foeminaeque, per totam vitam, horas illas quas ab operibus liberas diximus, in litteris collocant. Disciplinas ipsorum lingua perdiscunt. est enim neque verborum inops, nec insuauis auditu, nec vlla fidelior animi interpres est. eadem fere (nisi quod vbique corruptior, alibi aliter) magnam eius orbis plagam peruagatur. Ex omnibus his philosophis quorum nomina in hoc noto nobis orbe celebria, ante nostrum aduentum

Dubius dixit: ob gemmas factícias aut certe dubium dixit exiguum ac malignum.

Quam vere & quam apte.

Quanto plus sapiunt Vtopiani quam Christianorum vulgus

Studia et disciplinae Vtopiensium.

ne fama quidem cuiusquam eo peruenerat, & tamen in musica, dialecticaque, ac numerandi & metiendi scientia, eadem fere quae nostri illi veteres inuenere, Caeterum vt antiquos omnibus prope rebus exaequant, ita nuperorum inuentis dialecticorum longe sunt impares. Nam ne vllam quidem regulam inuenerunt earum, quas de restrictionibus, amplificationibus ac suppositionibus acutissime excogitatis in paruis logicalibus passim hic ediscunt pueri. Porro secundas intensiones tam longe abest vt inuestigare suffecerint, vt nec hominem ipsum in communi quem vocant quanquam (vt scitis) plane collosseum & quouis gigante maiorem tum a nobis praeterea digito demonstratum, nemo tamen eorum videre potuerit. At sunt in astrorum cursu, & cœlestium orbium motu, peritissimi | Quin instrumenta quoque diuersis figuris solerter excogitarunt, quibus solis ac lunae, & caeterorum item astrorum quae in ipsorum horizonte visuntur, motiones ac situs exactissime comprehensos habent, caeterum amicitias atque errantium dissidia siderum, ac totam denique illam ex astris diuinandi imposturam ne somniant quidem. Imbres ventos ac caeteras tempestatum vicissitudines, signis quibusdam longo prospectis vsu praesentiunt. Sed de causis earum rerum omnium & de fluxu maris eiusque salsitate, & in summa de cœli mundique origine, ac natura partim eadem quae veteres philosophi nostri disserunt, partim vt illi inter se dissident, ita hii quoque dum nouas rerum rationes afferunt ab omnibus illis dissentiunt, nec inter se tamen vsque quaque conueniunt. In ea philosophiae parte qua de moribus agitur, eadem illis disputantur quae nobis, de bonis animi quaerunt & corporis, & externis tum vtrum boni nomen omnibus his an solis animi dotibus conueniat, de virtute disserunt, ac voluptate, sed omnium prima est ac princeps controuersia, qua nam in re, vna pluribusue sitam hominis felicitatem putent. at hac in re propensiores aequo videntur in factionem voluptatis assertricem, vt qua vel totam vel potissimam felicitatis humanae partem definiant. Et quo magis mireris ab religione quoque (quae grauis & seuera est fereque tristis & rigida) petunt tamen sententiae tam delicatae patrocinium. Neque enim de felicitate disceptant vnquam, quin principia quaedam ex religione deprompta, tum philosophia quae rationibus vtitur coniungant, sine quibus ad verae felicitatis inuestigationem mancam atque imbecillam per se rationem putant. Ea principia sunt huiusmodi. animam esse immortalem ac dei beneficentia ad felicitatem natam, virtutibus ac benefactis nostris praemia post hanc vitam :

Musica. Dialectica Arithmetica.

Apparet hoc loco subesse nasum.

Astrolog.

At hii regnant inter christianos hodie

Physica omnium incertissima

Ethica

Ordo bonorum

Fines bonorum.

Utopiani felicitatem honesta voluptate metiuntur.

Principia philosophie e religione petenda.

Theologia Utopiensium

Animorum immortalitas de qua hodie non pauci etiam christiani dubitant.

flagitiis destinata supplicia. Haec tametsi religionis sint, ratione tamen censent ad ea credenda, & concedenda perduci, quibus e medio sublatis, sine vlla cunctatione pronuntiant neminem esse tam stupidum, qui non sentiat petendam sibi per fas ac nephas voluptatem. hoc tantum caueret ne minor voluptas obstet maiori, aut eam persequatur quam inuicem retaliet dolor. Nam virtutem asperam ac difficilem sequi: ac non abigere modo suauitatem vitae: sed dolorem etiam sponte perpeti cuius nullum expectes fructum (quis enim potest esse fructus si post mortem nihil assequeris quum hanc vitam totam insuauiter hoc est misere traduxeris) id vero dementissimum ferunt. Nunc vero non in omni voluptate felicitatem: sed in bona atque honesta sitam putant. ad eam | enim velut ad summum bonum, naturam nostram ab ipsa virtute pertrahi, cui sola aduersa factio felicitatem tribuit. Nempe virtutem definiunt: secundum naturam viuere ad id siquidem a deo institutos esse nos. Eum vero naturae ductum sequi quisquis in appetendis fugiendisque rebus obtemperat rationi. Rationem porro, mortales primum omnium in amorem, ac venerationem diuinae maiestatis incendere: cui debemus & quod sumus, & quod compotes esse felicitatis possumus: secundum id commonet atque excitat nos vt vitam quam licet minime anxiam, ac maxime laetam ducamus ipsi: caeterisque omnibus ad idem optinendum adiutores nos pro naturae societate praebeamus. Neque enim quisquam vnquam fuit tam tristis ac rigidus assecla virtutis: & osor voluptatis: qui ita labores, vigilias & squalores indicat tibi, vt non idem aliorum inopiam, atque incommoda leuare: te pro tua virili iubeat, & id laudandum humanitatis nomine censeat: hominem homini saluti ac solacio esse: si humanum est maxime (qua virtute nulla est homini magis propria, aliorum mitigare molestiam: & sublata tristicia vitae iucunditati: hoc est voluptati reddere. Quid ni natura quenque instiget vt sibimet idem praestet? Nam aut mala est vita iucunda: id est voluptaria: quod si est: non solum neminem ad eam debes adiutare: sed omnibus vtpote noxiam ac mortiferam: quantum potes adimere, aut si conciliare aliis eam vt bonam non licet modo sed etiam debes, cur non tibi in primis ipsi? cui non minus propicium esse te quam aliis decet: neque enim quum te natura moneat vti in alios bonus sis: eadem te rursus iubet: in temet seuum atque inclementem esse. Vitam ergo iucundam inquiunt: id est voluptatem tanquam operationum omnium finem ipsa nobis natura praescribit: ex

Ut non quaeuis expetenda voluptas ita nec dolor affectandus nisi virtutis causa.

Hoc iuxta Stoicos.

At nunc quidam accersunt dolores velut in his sita sit religio: cum ferendi potius sint si incidant ad pietatis officium tendenti aut nature necessitate accidant.

cuius praescripto viuere, virtutem definiunt. At quum natura mortales inuitet ad hilarioris vitae mutuum subsidium (quod certe merito facit. Neque enim tam supra generis humani sortem quisquam est: vt solus naturae curae sit quae vniuersos ex aequo fouet quos eiusdem formae communione complectitur) | eadem te nimirum iubet etiam atque etiam obseruare, ne sic tuis commodis obsecundes: vt aliorum procures incommoda. Seruanda igitur censent non inita solum inter priuatos pacta, sed publicas etiam leges: quas aut bonus princeps iuste promulgauit: aut populus: nec tyrannide, nec dolo circumscriptus: de partiendis vitae commodis hoc est materia voluptatis: communi consensu sanxit. Hiis inoffensis legibus tuum curare commodum: prudentia est, publicum praeterea, pietatis: sed alienam voluptatem praereptum ire: dum consequare tuam: ea vero iniuria est: contra tibi aliquid ipsi demere: quod addas aliis: id demum est humanitatis ac benignitatis officium, quod ipsum nunquam tantum aufert commodi: quantum refert. Nam & beneficiorum vicissitudine pensatur, & ipsa benefacti conscientia: ac recordatio charitatis eorum & beneuolentiae quibus benefeceris, plus voluptatis affert animo: quam fuisset illa corporis qua abstinuisti. postremo (quod facile persuadet animo libenter assentienti religio) breuis & exiguae voluptatis vicem: ingenti ac nunquam interituro gaudio rependit deus. Itaque hoc pacto censent: & excussa saedulo & propensa re omnes actiones nostras: atque in his virtutes etiam ipsas, voluptatem tandem velut finem: felicitatenque respicere.

Pacta & leges.

Officia vite mutua.

Voluptatem appellant omnem corporis animi ue motum statumque in quo versari natura duce delectet. Appetitionem naturae: non temere addunt. Nam vt quicquid natura iucundum est: ad quod neque per iniuriam tenditur, nec iniucundius aliud amittitur, nec labor succedit: non sensus modo sed recta quoque ratio persequitur, ita quae praeter naturam dulcia sibi mortales vanissima conspiratione confingunt. (tanquam in ipsis esset perinde res ac vocabula commutare) ea omnia statuunt adeo nihil ad felicitatem facere vt plurimum officiant etiam: vel eo quod quibus semel insederunt: ne veris ac genuinis oblectamentis vsquam vacet locus: totum prorsus animum falsa voluptatis opinione praeoccupant. Sunt enim perquam multa: quae quum suapte natura nihil contineant | suauitatis, imo bona pars amaritudinis etiam plurimum peruersa tum improbarum cupiditatum illecebra: non pro summis tantum voluptatibus habeantur: verum etiam inter precipuas vitae causas numerentur.

Voluptas quid

False voluptates

In hoc adulterinae voluptatis genere: eos collocant, quos ante memoraui: qui quo meliorem togam habent: eo sibi meliores ipsi videntur: qua vna in re, bis errant. Neque enim minus falsi sunt: quod meliorem putant togam suam, quam quod se. Cur enim si vestis vsum spectes: tenuioris fili lana praestet crassiori? at illi tamen tanquam natura non errore precellerent: attollunt cristas: & sibimet quoque praecii credunt inde non nihil accedere: eoque honorem: quem vilius vestiti sperare non essent ausi elegantiori togae: velut suo iure exigunt, & praetermissi negligentius indignantur. At hoc ipsum quoque: vanis & nihil profuturis honoribus affici: an non eiusdem iusticiae est? Nam quid naturalis & verae voluptatis affert nudatus alterius vertex: aut curuati poplites, hoccine tuorum poplitum dolori medebitur? aut tui capitis phrenesim leuabit? In hac fucatae voluptatis opinione sibi blandiuntur ac plaudunt quod eiusmodi maioribus nasci contigerit: quorum longa series diues (neque enim nunc aliud est nobilitas) habita sit: presertim in praediis, nec pilo quidem minus sibi nobiles videntur, etiam si maiores nihil, inde reliquerint: aut relictum ipsi obligurierint. Hiis adnumerant eos qui gemmis ac lapillis vt dixi capiuntur, ac dii quodammodo sibi videntur facti: si quando eximium aliquem consequantur: eius presertim generis: quod sua tempestate: maximo apud suos: aestimetur: neque enim apud omnes: neque omni tempore: eadem genera sunt in precio: Sed nec nisi exemptum auro ac nudum comparant. Imo ne sic quidem, nisi adiurato venditore: & prestanti cautionem, veram gemmam ac lapidem verum esse: tam solliciti sunt: ne oculis eorum: veri loco adulterinus imponat: spectaturo tibi: cur minus praebeat oblectamenti factitius, quem tuus oculus non discernit a | vero. Vterque ex aequo valere debet: tibi, non minus hercle quam caeco. Quid hii qui superfluas opes adseruant: vt nullo acerui vsu: sed sola contemplatione delectentur: num veram percipiunt: an falsa potius voluptate luduntur? aut hii qui diuerso vicio: aurum quo nunquam sint vsuri, fortasse nec visuri amplius, abscondunt: & solliciti ne perdant: perdunt: quid enim aliud est, vsibus demptum tuis & omnium fortasse mortalium: telluri reddere? & tu tamen abstruso thesauro, velut animi iam securus laeticia gestis. Quem si quis furto sustulerit, cuius tu ignarus furti: decem post annis obieris: toto illo decennio, quo subtractae pecuniae superfuisti: quid tua

Error eorum qui sibi ob cultum placent.

Stulti honores.

Vana nobilitas.

Stultissima voluptas ex gemmis.

Opinio hominum precium addit aut adimit gemmis

Mira fictio & aptissima.

retulit: surreptum an saluum fuisse? vtroque certe modo tantundem vsus ad te peruenit, Ad has tam ineptas laeticias, aleatores (quorum insaniam auditu, non vsu cognouere) venatores praeterea: atque aucupes: adiungunt. Nam quid habet inquiunt voluptatis: talos in alueum proiicere, quod toties fecisti: vt si quid voluptatis inesset: oriri tamen potuisset ex frequenti vsu satietas: aut quae suauitas esse potest: ac non fastidium potius: in audiendo latratu atque vlulatu canum? aut qui maior voluptatis sensus est, cum leporem canis insequitur: quam quum canis canem? nempe idem vtrobique agitur: accurritur enim: si te cursus oblectet. At si te cedis spes: laniatus expectatio sub oculis peragendi retinet: misericordiam potius mouere debet: spectare: lepusculum a cane: imbecillum, a validiore: fugacem ac timidum a feroce, Innoxium denique a crudeli discerptum. Itaque Vtopienses totum hoc venandi exercitium, vt rem liberis indignam, in lanios (quam artem per seruos obire eos supra diximus) reiecerunt. infimam enim eius partem esse venationem statuunt, reliquas eius partes & vtiliores & honestiores vt quae & multo magis conseruant: & animalia necessitatis duntaxat gratia perimant quum venator ab miseri animalculi cede ac laniatu: nihil | nisi voluptatem petat, quam spectandae necis libidinem in ipsis etiam bestiis aut ab animi crudelis affectu censent exoriri, aut in crudelitatem denique, assiduo tam efferae voluptatis vsu defluere. Haec igitur & quicquid est eiusmodi (sunt enim innumera quanquam pro voluptatibus mortalium vulgus habeat, illi tamen quum natura nihil insit suaue, plane statuunt cum vera voluptate nihil habere commercii. Nam quod vulgo sensum iucunditate perfundunt (quod voluptatis opus videtur) nihil de sententia decedunt. non enim ipsius rei natura, sed ipsorum peruersa consuetudo in causa est, cuius vicio fit, vt amara pro dulcibus amplectantur. Non aliter ac mulieres grauidae picem & seuum, corrupto gustu, melle mellitius arbitrantur. Nec cuiusquam tamen aut morbo aut consuetudine deprauatum iudicium, mutare naturam, vt non aliarum rerum ita nec voluptatis potest. Voluptatum quas veras fatentur, species diuersas faciunt. Siquidem alias animo, corpori alias tribuunt. Animo dant intellectum, eamque dulcedinem quam veri contemplatio pepererit. ad haec suauis additur bene actae vitae memoria, & spes non dubia futuri boni. Corporis voluptatem in duas partiuntur formas: quarum prima sit ea: quae sensum perspicua suauitate perfundit: quod alias earum instauratione partium fit: quas

Alea Venatio.

At hec hodie ars est deorum aulicorum.

Citta in grauidis

Vere voluptatis species.

Voluptates corporis.

insitus nobis calor exhauserit. Nam hae cibo potuque redduntur: alias dum egeruntur illa: quorum copia corpus exuberat. haec suggeritur: dum excrementis intestina purgamus: aut opera liberis datur: aut vllius prurigo partis frictu scalptuve lenitur. Interdum vero voluptas oritur nec redditura quicquam quod membra nostra desyderent: nec ademptura quo laborent: caeterum quae sensus nostros tamen vi quadem occulta sed illustri motu titillet afficiatque: & in se conuertat: qualis ex musica nascitur. Alteram corporeae voluptatis formam: eam volunt esse: quae in quieto atque aequabili corporis statu consistat. id est nimirum sua cuiusque nullo interpellata malo sanitas haec siquidem: si nihil eam doloris oppugnet: per se ipsa delectat: etiam si nulla extrinsecus | adhibita voluptate moueatur. Quanquam enim sese minus effert, minusque offert sensui, quam tumida illa edendi bibendique libido, nihilo tamen secius multi eam statuunt voluptatum maximam: Omnes fere Vtopienses magnam & velut fundamentum omnium ac basim fatentur, vt quae vel sola placidam & optabilem vitae conditionem reddat, & qua sublata, nullus vsquam reliquus sit cuiquam voluptati locus. Nam dolore prorsus vacare nisi adsit sanitas, stuporem certe non voluptatem vocant. Iamdudum explosum est apud eos decretum illorum, qui stabilem & tranquillam sanitatem (nam haec quoque quaestio gnauiter apud eos agitata est) ideo non habendam pro voluptate censebant, quod praesentem non posse dicerent, nisi motu quopiam extrario sentiri. Verum contra nunc in hoc prope vniuersi conspirant, sanitatem vel in primis voluptati esse. Etenim quum in morbo (inquiunt) dolor sit, qui voluptati implacabilis hostis est, non aliter, ac sanitati morbus, quid ni vicissim insit sanitatis tranquillitati voluptas? nihil enim ad hanc rem referre putant, seu morbus dolor esse, seu morbo dolor inesse dicatur, Tantundem enim vtroque modo effici. Quippe si sanitas aut voluptas ipsa sit, aut necessario voluptatem pariat, velut calor igni gignitur, nimirum vtrobique efficitur, vt quibus immota sanitas adest hiis voluptas abesse non possit. Praeterea dum vestimur (inquiunt) quid aliud quam sanitas quae labefactari cœperat, aduersus esurientem (cibo commilitone) depugnat? in qua dum paulatim inualescit, ille ipse profectus ad solitum vigorem suggerit illam, qua sic reficimur, voluptatem. Sanitas ergo quae in conflictu letatur, eadem non gaudebit adepta victoriam? Sed pristinum robur quod solum toto conflictu petiuerat tandem, feliciter assecuta,

Valeat possessor oportet.

protinus obstupescet? nec bona sua cognoscet atque amplexabitur? Nam quod non sentiri sanitas dicta est, id vero perquam procul a vero putant. Quis enim vigilans (inquiunt) sanum esse se non sentit, nisi qui non est? quem ne tantus aut stupor aut lethargus adstringit, vt sanitatem non iniucundam sibi fateatur ac delectabilem? at de- | lectatio quid aliud quam alio nomine voluptas est? Amplectuntur ergo in primis animi voluptates, eas enim primas omnium principesque ducunt, quarum potissimam partem censent ab exercitio virtutum, bonaeque vitae conscientia profecisci. Earum voluptatum quas corpus suggerit, palmam sanitati deferunt. Nam edendi, bibendique suauitatem, & quicquid eandem oblectamenti rationem habet, appetenda quidem, sed non nisi sanitatis gratia statuunt. Neque enim per se iucunda esse talia, sed quatenus aduersae valitudini clanculum surrepenti resistunt. ideoque sapienti, sicuti magis deprecandos morbos, quam optandam medicinam, & dolores profligandos potius, quam adsciscenda solatia, ita hoc quoque voluptatis genere non egere quam deliniri prestiterit, quo voluptatis genere si quisquam se beatum putet, is necesse est fateatur, se tum demum fore felicissimum, si ea vita contigerit, quae in perpetua fame, siti, pruritu, esu, potatione, scalptu, frictuque, traducatur: quae quam non fœda solum, sed misera etiam sit, quis non videt? infimae profecto omnium heae voluptates sunt, vt minime syncerae. neque enim vnquam subeunt, nisi contrariis coniunctae doloribus, Nempe cum edendi voluptate copulatur esuries, idque non satis aequa lege. Nam vt vehementior, ita longior quoque dolor est. quippe & ante voluptatem nascitur, & nisi voluptate vna commoriente, non extinguitur. Huiusmodi ergo voluptates, nisi quatenus expetit necessitas, haud magni habendas putant. Gaudent tamen etiam his gratique agnoscunt naturae parentis indulgentiam, quae fœtus suos ad id quod necessitatis causa tam assidue faciundum erat etiam blandissima suauitate pelliceat. Quanto enim in taedio viuendum erat, si vt caeterae aegritudines quae nos infestant rarius, ita hii quoque cotidiani famis ac sitis morbi, venenis ac pharmacis amaris essent abigendi? At formam, vires, agilitatem, haec vt propria, iucundaque naturae dona libenter fouent. Quin eas quoque voluptates, quae per aures, oculos, ac nares admittuntur, quas natura proprias ac peculiares esse homini voluit (neque enim aliud animantium ge- | nus, aut mundi formam pulchritudinemque suspicit,

aut odorum: nisi ad cibi discrimen: vlla commouetur gratia: neque consonas inter se discordesque sonorum distantias internoscit) & has inquam vt iucunda quaedam vitae condimenta persequuntur. In omnibus autem hunc habent modum ne maiorem minor impediat: neu dolorem aliquando voluptas pariat: quod necessario sequi censent: si inhonesta sit. At certe formae decus contemnere: vires deterere: agilitatem in pigriciam vertere: corpus exhaurire ieiuniis, sanitati iniuriam facere: & caetera naturae blandimenta respuere: nisi quis haec sua commoda negligat: dum aliorum publicamue ardentius procurat: cuius laboris vice maiorem a deo voluptatem expectet: alioquin ob inanem virtutis vmbram nullius bono: semet affligere: vel quo aduersa ferre minus moleste possit: nunquam fortasse ventura. hoc vero putant esse dementissimum: animique & in se crudelis: & erga naturam ingratissimi: cui tanquam debere quicquam dedignetur: omnibus eius beneficiis renunciat.

Annotandum et hoc diligenter

Haec est eorum de virtute ac voluptate sententia: qua nisi sanctius aliquid inspiret homini: cœlitus immissa religio: nullam inuestigari credunt humana ratione veriorem: qua in re recte ne an secus sentiant: excutere nos: neque tempus patitur: neque necesse est. quippe qui narranda eorum instituta, non etiam tuenda suscepimus. Caeterum hoc mihi certe persuadeo vt vt sese habeant haec decreta: nusquam neque praestantiorem populum neque fœliciorem esse rempublicam. Corpore sunt agili vegetoque: virium amplius quam statura promittat. nec ea tamen improcera: & quum neque solo sint vsque quaque fertili: nec admodum salubri cœlo: aduersus aerem ita sese temperantia victus muniunt: terrae sic medentur industria: vt nusquam gentium sit frugis pecorisque prouentus vberior: aut hominum viuaciora corpora: paucioribusque morbis obnoxia. Itaque non ea modo quae vulgo faciunt agricolae: diligenter ibi administrata | conspicias: vt terram natura maligniorem, arte atque opera iuuent: sed populi manibus alibi radicitus euulsam sylvam, alibi consitam videas: qua in re habita est non vbertatis: sed vecturae ratio: vt essent ligna: aut mari: aut fluuiis: aut vrbibus ipsis viciniora, minore enim cum labore terrestri itinere, fruges quam ligna longius afferunt. Gens facilis ac faceta: sollers: ocio gaudens, corporis laborum, quum est vsus: satis patiens. Caeterum alias haud quamquam sane appetens: animi studiis infatigata. Qui quum a nobis accepissent de literis & disciplina graecorum (Nam in latinis praeter

Felicitas Utopiensium ac descriptio

Utilitas lingue grece.

historias ac poetas nihil erat quod videbantur magnopere probaturi) mirum quanto studio contenderunt, vt eas liceret ipsis: nostra interpretatione perdiscere Cœpimus ergo legere: magis adeo primum, ne recusare laborem videremur, quam quod fructum eius aliquem sperareamus. At vbi paulum processimus ipsorum diligentia fecit: vt nostram haud frustra impendendam animo statim praeciperemus. Siquidem literarum formas, tam facile imitari: verba tam expedite pronunciare: tam celeriter mandare memoriae: & tanta cum fide reddere cœperunt: vt nobis miraculi esset loco, nisi quod plaeraque pars eorum, qui non sua solum sponte accensi, verum senatus quoque decreto iussi: ista sibi discenda sumpserunt: E numero scholasticorum, selectissimis ingeniis, & matura aetate fuerunt. Itaque minus quam triennio nihil erat in lingua quod requirerent bonos authores, nisi obstet libri menda, inoffense perlegerent. Eas literas vt equidem coniicio ob id quo facilius arripuerunt, quod nonnihil illis essent cognate. Suspicor enim eam gentem a graecis originem duxisse: propterea quod sermo illorum caetera fere persicus non nulla graeci sermonis vestigia seruet in vrbium ac magistratuum vocabulis. Habent ex me, (Nam librorum sarcinam mediocrem loco mercium quarto nauigaturus in nauem conieci quod mecum plane decreueram nunquam potius redire quam cito) Platonis opera pleraque: Aristotelis plura: Theophrastum item de plantis, sed pluribus quod doleo in locis mutilum. In librum enim dum | nauigabamus negligentius habitum: cercopithecus inciderat: qui lasciuiens ac ludibundus, paginas aliquot hinc atque inde euulsas lacerauit. Ex hiis qui scripsere grammaticam, Lascarem habent tantum, Theodorum enim non aduexi mecum, nec dictionarium aliquem praeter Hesychium, ac Dioscoridem. Plutarchi libellos habent charissimos & Luciani quoque facetiis ac lepore capiuntur. ex poetis habent Aristophanem Homerum atque Euripidem: tum Sophoclem minusculis Aldi formulis, ex historicis Thucydidem atque Herodotum: necnon Herodianum. Quin in re medica quoque sodalis meus Tricius Apinatus aduexerat secum parua quaedam Hippocratis opuscula, ac Microtechnen Galeni, quos libros magno in precio habent: siquidem & si omnium fere gentium, re medica minime egent, nusquam tamen in maiore honore est, vel eo ipso quod eius cognitionem numerant inter pulcherrimas atque vtilissimas partes philosophiae: cuius ope philosophiae dum naturae secreta scrutantur, videntur sibi non solum admirabilem inde voluptatem percipere: sed apud authorem

Docilitas Utopiensium mira

At nunc stipites et caudices dicantur literis: felicissima ingenia voluptatibus corrunpuntur.

Medicina vtilissima

Contemplatio nature.

quoque eius, atque opificem summam inire gratiam: Quae caeterorum more artificum arbitrantur: mundi huius visendam machinam homini (quem solum tantae rei capacem fecit) exposuisse spectandam: eoque chariorem habere: curiosum ac sollicitum inspectorem, operisque sui admiratorem: quam eum qui velut animal expers mentis: tantum ac tam mirabile spectaculum, stupidus immotusque neglexerit. Vtopiensium itaque exercitata literis ingenia mire valent ad inuentiones artium, quae faciant aliquid ad commodae vitae compendia. Sed duas tamen debent nobis Chalcographorum & faciendae chartae, nec solis tamen nobis sed sibi quoque bonam eius partem Nam quum ostenderemus eis libris chartaceis impressas ab Aldo literas, & de chartae faciendae materia ac literas imprimendi facultate loqueremur: aliquid magis quam explicaremus (neque enim quisquam erat nostrum qui alterutram calleret) ipsi statim acutissime coniecerunt rem: & quum ante pellibus corticibus ac papyro tantum scriberent | iam chartam ilico facere, & literas imprimere tentarunt: quae quum primo non satis procederent, eadem saepius experiendo, breui sunt vtrunque consecuti: tantumque effecerunt, vt si essent graecorum exemplaria librorum: codices deesse non possent. At nunc nihil habent amplius quam a me commemoratum est, id vero quod habent impressis iam libris in multa exemplariorum millia propagauere. Quisquis eo spectandi gratia venerit quem insignis aliqua dos ingenii aut longa peregrinatione vsum: multarum cognitio terrarum commendet (quo nomine gratus fuit noster appulsus) pronis animis excipitur. Quippe libenter audiunt, quid vbique terrarum geratur. Caeterum mercandi gratia non admodum frequenter appellitur. Quid enim ferrent: nisi aut ferrum: aut quod quisque referre mallet, aurum argentumue? Tum quae ex ipsis exportanda sint, ea consultius putant ab se efferri quam ab aliis illinc peti: quo & exteras vndique gentes exploratiores habeant neque maritimarum rerum vsum ac peritiam oblitum eant.

De Servis.

Mira huius gentis equitas.

Pro seruis neque bello captos habent nisi ab ipsis gesto, neque seruorum filios: neque denique quenquam quem apud alias gentes seruientem possent comparare, sed aut si cuius apud se flagitium in seruicium vertitur, aut quos apud exteras vrbes (quod genus multo frequentius est) admissum facinus destinauit supplicio. eorum enim multos, interdum aestimatos vili, saepius etiam gratis

impetratos: auferunt. Haec seruorum genera non in opere solum perpetuo: verumetiam in vinculis habent: sed suos durius quos eo deploratiores, ac deteriora meritos exempla censent: quod tam praeclara educatione ad virtutem egregie instructi: contineri tamen ab scelere non potuerint. Aliud seruorum genus est: quum alterius populi mediastinus quispiam laboriosus ac pauper elegerit apud eos sua sponte seruire, hos honeste tractant ac nisi quod laboris: vt pote consuetis, imponitur plusculum non multo minus clementer ac ciues habent: volentem dis- | cedere (quod non saepe fit) neque retinent inuitum, neque inanem dimittunt. Egrotantes: vt dixi, magno cum adfectu curant, nihilque prorsus omittunt quo sanitati eos: vel medicinae vel victus obseruatione restituant. Quin insanabili morbo laborantes assidendo, colloquendo, adhibendo demum quae possunt leuamenta solantur. Caeterum si non immedicabilis modo morbus sit verumetiam perpetuo vexet atque discrutiet: tum sacerdotes ac magistratus hortantur hominem, quanquidem omnibus vitae muniis impar aliis molestus ac sibi grauis morti iam suae superuiuat, ne secum statuat pestem diutius ac luem alere, neue quum tormentum ei vita sit mori dubitet, quin bona spe fretus acerba illa vita velut carcere atque aculeo vel ipse semet eximat: vel ab aliis eripi se sua voluntate patiatur: hoc illum quum non commoda, sed supplicium abrupturus morte sit prudenter facturum, quoniam vero sacerdotum in ea re consiliis id est interpretum dei sit obsecuturus, etiam pie sancteque facturum. Haec quibus persuaserint: aut inedia sponte vitam finiunt, aut sopiti sine mortis sensu soluuntur. Inuitum vero neminem tollunt nec officii erga eum quicquam imminuunt persuasos hoc pacto defungi honorificum. Alioqui qui mortem sibi consciuerit causa non probata sacerdotibus & senatui: hunc neque rerra neque igne dignantur: sed in paludem aliquam turpiter insepultus abiicitur. Foemina non ante annum duodeuicesimum nubit. Mas non nisi expletis quatuor etiam amplius. Ante coniugium mas aut fœmina si conuincatur furtiuae libidinis, grauiter in eum eamue animaduertitur: coniugioque illis in totum interdicitur, nisi venia principis noxam remiserit, sed & pater & materque familias cuius in domo admissum flagicium est: tanquam suas partes parum diligenter tutati magnae obiacent infamiae: id facinus ideo tam seuere vindicant, quod futurum prospiciunt, vt rari in coniugalem amorem coalescerent: in quo aetatem omnem cum vno videant exigendam: et perferendas in- | super quas ea res affert molestias, nisi a vago concubitu diligenter

De egrotis

Mors spontanea

De coniugiis.

Et si parum verecunde haud tamen incaute.

arceantur. Porro in deligendis coniugibus ineptissimum ritum (vti nobis visum est) adprimeque ridiculum, illi serio ac seuere obseruant. Mulierem enim seu virgo seu vidua sit, grauis & honesta matrona proco nudam exhibet, ac probus aliquis vir vicissim nudum puellae procum sistit. Hunc morem quum velut ineptum ridentes improbaremus, illi contra caeterarum omnium gentium insignem demirari stulticiam, qui quum in equuleo comparando, vbi de paucis agitur nummis, tam cauti sint, vt quamuis fere nudum nisi detracta sella tamen, omnibusque reuulsis ephippiis recusent emere, ne sub illis operculis hulcus aliquod delitesceret, in deligenda coniuge, qua ex re aut voluptas, aut nausea sit totam per vitam comitatura, tam negligenter agant, vt reliquo corpore vestibus obuoluto, totam mulierem vix ab vnius palmae spatio (nihil enim praeter vultum visitur) estiment adiungantque sibi non absque magno (si quid offendat postea) male coherendi periculo. Nam neque omnes tam sapientes sunt vt solos mores respiciant, & in ipsorum quoque sapientum coniugiis, ad animi virtutes non nihil additamenti corporis etiam dotes adiiciunt, certe tam fœda deformitas, latere sub illis potest inuolucris vt alienare prorsus animum ab vxore queat, quum corpore iam seiungi non liceat: Qualis deformitas si quo casu contingat post contractas nuptias, suam quisque sortem necesse est ferat, ante vero ne quis capiatur insidiis, legibus caueri

Diuortium.

debet, idque tanto maiore studio fuit quod & soli illarum orbis plagarum singulis sunt contenti coniugibus: & matrimonium ibi haud saepe aliter: quam morte soluitur: nisi adulterium: in causa fuerit: aut morum non ferenda molestia. Nempe alterutri sic offenso facta ab senatu coniugis mutandi venia: alter infamem simul ac celebem perpetuo vitam ducit. Alioquin inuitam coniugem cuius nulla sit noxa repudiare quod corporis obtigerit calamitas id vero nullo pacto ferunt: nam & crudele iudicant tum quenquam deseri: cum maxime eget solatio: & senectuti: quum | & morbos afferat & morbus ipsa sit: incertam atque infirmam fidem fore. Caeterum accidit interdum vt quum non satis inter se coniugum conueniant mores repertis vtrique aliis quibus cum sperent se suauius esse victuros amborum sponte separati: noua matrimonia contrahant, haud absque senatus authoritate tamen, qui nisi causa per se atque vxores suas diligenter cognita: diuortia non admittit. Imo ne sic quidem, facile. quod rem minime vtilem sciunt firmandae coniugum charitati, facilem nouarum nuptiarum spem esse propositam. Temeratores coniugii grauissima seruitute plectuntur, & si

neuter erat caelebs, iniuriam passi (velint modo) repudiatis adulteris coniugio inter se ipsi iunguntur alioquin quibus videbitur. At si lesorum alteruter erga tam male merentem coniugem: in amore persistat: tamen vti coniugii lege non prohibetur si velit in opera damnatum sequi: acciditque interdum vt alterius pœnitentia alterius officiosa saedulitas miserationem commouens principi, libertatem rursus impetret. Caeterum ad scelus iam relapso nex infligitur Caeteris facinoribus nullam certam pœnam lex vlla prestituit: sed vt quodque atrox: aut contra visum est: ita supplicium senatus decreuit. Vxores mariti castigant & parentes liberos: nisi quid tam ingens admiserint: vt id publicae puniri: morum intersit: sed fere grauissima quaeque scelera seruitutis incommodo puniuntur, id siquidem & sceleratis non minus triste: & reipublicae magis commodum arbitrantur quam si mactare noxios & protinus amoliri festinent. Nam & labore quam nece magis prosunt, & exemplo diutius alios ab simili flagitio deterrent. quod si sic habiti rebellent atque recalcitrent, tum demum velut indomitae belluae, quos cohercere carcer & cathena non potest, trucidantur. At patientibus non adimitur omnis omnino spes: quippe longis domiti malis si eam pœnitentiam prae se ferant, quae peccatum testetur magis eis displicere quam pœnam, principis interdum praerogatiua: interdum suffragiis populi, aut mitigatur seruitus aut remittitur. Sollicitasse ad stuprum nihilo minus quam | stuprasse periculi est. In omni siquidem flagitio certum destinatumque conatum aequant facto. neque enim id quod defuit ei putant prodesse debere: per quem non stetit: quo minus nihil defuerit. Moriones in delitiis habentur, quos vt affecisse contumelia magno in probro est, ita voluptatem ab stulticia capere non vetant. Siquidem id morionibus ipsis maximo esse bono censent, cuius qui tam seuerus ac tristis est vt nullum neque factum neque dictum rideat ei tutandum non credunt, veriti ne non satis indulgenter curetur ab eo, cui non modo nulli vsui, sed ne oblectamento quidem qua sola dote valet, futurus esset.

Estimatio supplicii penes magistratum

Stupri sollicitati pena

Voluptas e morionibus

Irridere deformem aut mutilum, turpe ac deforme non ei: qui ridetur: habetur, sed irrisori qui cuiquam quod in eius potestate non erat vt fugeret, id vicii loco stulte exprobret. Vt enim formam naturalem non tueri segnis atque inertis ducunt, sic adiumentum ab fucis querere infamis apud illos insolentia est. Vsu enim ipso sentiunt, quam non vllum formae decus vxores aeque ac morum probitas & reuerentia commendet maritis. Nam vt

Fucata forma.

forma nonnulli sola capiuntur, ita nemo nisi virtute atque obsequio retinetur. Non pœnis tantum deterrent a flagitiis, sed propositis quoque honoribus ad virtutes inuitant, ideoque statuas viris insignibus & de republica preclare meritis in foro collocant, in rerum bene gestarum memoriam: simul vt ipsorum posteris maiorum suorum gloria calcar & incitamentum ad virtutem sit. Qui magistratum vllum ambierit exspes omnium redditur. Conuiuunt amabiliter. quippe nec magistratus vllus insolens: aut terribilis est: patres appellantur: & exhibent. iisdem defertur: vt debet: ab volentibus honor: non ab inuitis exigitur. Ne principem quidem ipsum: vestis aut diadema: sed gestatus frumenti manipulus discernit: vt pontificis insigne est prelatus cereus. Leges habent perquam paucas. sufficiunt enim sic institutis paucissimae. Quin hoc in primis apud alios improbant populos: quod legum interpretumque volumina, non infinita suf | ficiunt. Ipsi vero censent iniquissimum: vllos homines his obligari legibus: quae aut numerosiores sint: quam vt perlegi queant: aut obscuriores quam vt a quouis possint intelligi: porro causidicos: qui causas tractant callide: ac leges vafre disputent: prorsus omnes excludunt. censent enim ex vsu esse: vt suam quisque causam agat: eademque referat iudici: quae narraturus patrono fuerat. Sic & minus ambagum fore & facilius elici veritatem. dum eo dicente: quem nullus patronus fucum docuit: iudex sollerter expendit singula: & contra versutorum calumnias simplicioribus ingeniis opitulatur. haec apud alias gentes: in tanto perplexissimarum aceruo legum difficile est obseruari. Caeterum apud eos vnusquisque est legis peritus. Nam & sunt (vt dixi) paucissimae: & interpretationum praeterea vt quaeque est maxime crassa: ita maxime aequam censent. Nempe quum omnes leges (inquiunt) ea tantum causa promulgentur: vt ab hiis quisque sui commonefiat officii: subtilior interpretatio paucissimos admonet (pauci enim sunt qui assequantur) quum interim simplicior ac magis obuius legum sensus: omnibus in aperto sit: alioquin quod ad vulgus attinet: cuius & maximus est numerus & maxime eget admonitu: quid referat vtrum legem omnino non condas: an conditam in talem interpreteris sententiam: quam nisi magno ingenio & longa disputatione nemo possit eruere: ad quam inuestigandam neque crassum vulgi iudicium queat attingere: neque vita in comparando victu occupata sufficere. Hiis eorum virtutibus incitati finitimi: qui quidem liberi sunt & suae spontis (Multos enim ipsi iam olim tyrannide liberauerunt) magistratus sibi: ab illis alii

Et premiis inuitandi ciues ad officium.

Damnatus ambitus.

Honor magistratuum.

Dignitas principis.

Leges pauce.

Aduocatorum inutilis turba.

quotannis: alii in lustrum impetrant: quos defunctos imperio: cum honore ac laude reducunt: nouos secum rursus in patriam reuehunt. Atque hi quidem populi optime profecto ac saluberrime reipublicae suae consulunt: cuius & salus & pernicies: quum ab moribus magistratuum pendeat: quos nam potuissent elegisse prudentius: quam qui neque vllo precio queant ab honesto deduci (vtpote quod breui sit remigraturis inutile) | ignoti ciuibus, aut prauo cuiusquam studio aut simultate flecti quae duo mala, affectus atque auariciae, sicubi incubuere iudiciis, illico iusticiam omnem, fortissimum reipublicae neruum: dissoluunt. Hos Vtopiani populos, quibus qui imperent ab ipsis petuntur, appellant socios, caeteros quos beneficiis auxerunt amicos vocant.

De federibus.

Fœdera quae reliquae inter se gentes toties ineunt: frangunt ac renouant, ipsi nulla cum gente feriunt. Quorsum enim fœdus inquiunt: quasi non hominem homini satis natura conciliet: quam qui contempserit, hunc verba scilicet putes curaturum. In hanc sententiam eo vel maxime trahuntur, quod in illis terrarum plagis, fœdera pactaque principum solent parum bona fide seruari. Etenim in Europa idque his potissimum partibus quas Christi fides & religio possidet, sancta est & inuiolabilis vbique maiestas fœderum, partim ipsa iusticia & bonitate principum, partim summorum reuerentia metuque pontificum, qui vt nihil in se recipiunt ipsi: quod non religiosissime prestant. ita caeteros omnes principes iubent, vt pollicitis omnibus modis immorentur, tergiuersantes vero pastorali censura & seueritate compellunt. Merito sane censent turpissimam rem videri si illorum fœderibus absit fides: qui peculiari nomine fideles appellantur. At in illo nouo orbe terrarum, quem circulus equator vix tam longe ab hoc nostro orbe semouet: quam vita moresque dissident: fœderum nulla fiducia est: quorum vt quodque plurimis ac sanctissimis ceremoniis innodatum fuerit: ita citissime soluitur inuenta facile in verbis calumnia, quae sic interim de industria dictant callide: vt nunquam tam firmis adstringi vinculis queant: quin elabantur aliqua, fœdusque & fidem pariter eludant. Quam vafriciem, imo quam fraudem dolumque: si priuatorum deprehenderent interuenisse contractui: magno supercilio rem sacrilegam: & furca dignam clamitarent: hi nimirum ipsi: qui eius consilii principibus dati: semet gloriantur Authores. Quo fit vt iusticia tota videatur aut non nisi plebea virtus & humilis, quaeque longo interuallo sub | sidat infra regale fastigium: aut vti saltem duae sint quarum alteram

vulgus deceat, pedestris & humirepa : neue vsquam septa transilire queat, multis vndique restricta vinculis, altera principum virtus, quae sicuti sit quam illa popularis augustior : sic est etiam longo interuallo liberior, vt cui non liceat nisi quod non libeat. Hos mores vt dixi principum : illic fœdera tam male seruantium puto in causa esse : ne vlla feriant Vtopienses : mutaturi fortasse sententiam si hic viuerent. Quanquam illis videtur vt optime seruentur : male tamen inoleuisse fœderis omnino sanciendi consuetudinem qua fit, vt (perinde ac si populum populo : quos exiguo spacio, collis tantum aut riuus discriminat : nulla naturae societas copularet) hostes atque inimicos inuicem sese natos putent, meritoque in mutuam grassari perniciem : nisi fœdera prohibeant : quin hiis ipsis quoque initis, non amiciciam coalescere : sed manere praedandi licentiam, quatenus per imprudentiam dictandi fœderis, nihil quod prohibeat satis caute comprehensum in pactis est. At illi contra censent neminem pro inimico habendum, a quo nihil iniuriae profectum est. Naturae consortium : fœderis vice esse : & satius valentiusque homines inuicem beneuolentia quam pactis, animo quam verbis connecti.

De re Militari.

Bellum vtpote rem plane belluinam, nec vlli tamen belluarum formae in tam assiduo, atque homini est vsu : summopere abominantur contraque morem gentium ferme omnium nihil aequae ducunt inglorium : atque petitam e bello gloriam : eoque licet assidue militari sese disciplina exerceant neque id viri modo ? sed fœminae quoque, statis diebus : ne ad bellum sint : quum exigat vsus : inhabiles : non temere capessunt tamen, nisi quo aut suos fines tueantur : aut amicorum terris : infusos hostes propulsent, aut populum quempiam tyrannide pressum, miserati : (quod humanitatis gratia faciunt) suis viribus tyranni iugo, & seruitute : liberent quanquam auxilium gratificantur amicis non semper quidem : quo se defendant : sed interdum quoque illatas retalient atque vlcis | cantur iniurias. verum id ita demum faciunt : si re adhuc integra consulantur ipsi, & probata causa repetitis ac non redditis rebus belli authores inferendi sint, quod non tunc solum decernunt : quoties hostili incursu abacta est praeda : verum tum quoque multo infestius, quum eorum negociatores vsquam gentium, vel iniquarum pretextu legum, vel sinistra deriuatione bonarum, iniustam subeunt : iusticiae colore, calumniam. Nec alia fuit eius origo

belli, quod pro Nephelogetis aduersus Alaopolitas: paulo ante nostram memoriam, Vtopienses gessere, quam apud Alaopolitas Nephelogetarum mercatoribus illata praetextu iuris (vt visum est ipsis) iniuria certe, siue illud ius, sine ea iniuria fuit, bello tam atroci est vindicata, quum ad proprias vtriusque partis vires odiaque circuniectarum etiam gentium studia atque opes adiungerentur, vt florentissimis populorum aliis concussis, aliis vehementer afflictis, orientia ex malis mala: Alaopolitarum seruitus demum ac deditio finierit, qua in Nephelogetarum (neque enim sibi certabant Vtopienses) potestatem concessere: gentis, florentibus Alaopolitarum rebus: haud quaquam cum illis conferendae. Tam acriter Vtopienses amicorum, etiam in pecuniis: iniuriam persequuntur, suas ipsorum: non item, qui sicubi circumscripti bonis excidant, modo corporibus absit vis hactenus irascuntur: vti quoad satisfactio fiat, eius commercio gentis abstineant. Non quod minoris sibi curae ciues quam socii sint, sed horum tamen pecuniam intercipi: aegrius quam suam ferunt. Propterea quod amicorum negociatores: quoniam de suo perdunt priuato, graue vulnus ex iactura sentiunt. At ipsorum ciuibus nihil ni fide publica perit. praeterea quod abundabat domi ac veluti superérat: alioquin non emittendum foras: quo fit vti intertrimentum citra cuiusquam sensum accidat. Quo circa minus crudele censent id damnum multorum vlcisci mortibus: cuius damni incommodum nemo ipsorum: aut vita aut victu persentiscat. Caeterum si quis suorum vsquam per iniuriam debilitetur: aut occidat, siue id publico factum consi | lio: siue priuato sit, per legatos re comperta: nisi deditis noxiis placari non possunt: quin ilico bellum denuncient. Noxae deditos, aut morte aut seruitio puniunt. Cruentae victoriae non piget modo eos: sed pudet quoque: reputantes iusticiam esse quamlibet preciosas merces nimio emisse: arte doloque victos oppressos hostes impendio gloriantur. Triumphumque ob eam rem publicitus agunt: & velut re strennue gesta. Tropheum erigunt: tunc enim demum viriliter sese iactant: & quum virtute gessisse, quoties ita vicerint, quomodo nullum animal praeter hominem potuit id est ingenii viribus. Nam corporis inquiunt vrsi, leones, apri, lupi, canes caeteraeque belluae dimicant: quarum vt plaeraeque nos robore ac ferocia vincunt, ita cunctae ingenio, & ratione superantur. Hoc vnum illi in bello spectant, vti id obtineant, quod si fuissent ante consequuti, bellum non fuerant illaturi, aut si id res vetet: tam seueram ab his vindictam expetunt, quibus factum imputant, vt idem

Magno empta victoria.

ausuros in posterum terror absterreat Hos propositi sui scopos destinant, quos mature petunt: at ita tamen: vti prior vitandi periculi cura: quam laudis aut famae consequendae sit. Itaque protinus indicto bello: schedulas ipsorum publico signo roboratas: locis maxime conspicuis: hosticae terrae: clam vno tempore multas appendi procurant: quibus ingentia pollicentur premia: si quis principem aduersarium sustulerit, deinde minora quanquam illa quoque egregia decernunt: pro singulis eorum capitibus: quorum nomina in iisdem literis proscribunt: hii sunt quos secundum principem ipsum: authores initi aduersus se consilii ducunt. Quicquid percussori praefiniunt. hoc geminant ei: qui viuum e proscriptis aliquem ad se perduxerint, quum ipsos quoque proscriptos: premiis iisdem, addita etiam impunitate, contra socios inuitant. Itaque fit celeriter, vt & caeteros mortales suspectos habeant: & sibi inuicem ipsi, neque fidentes satis, neque fidi sint, maximoque in metu & non minore periculo versentur. Nam saepenumero constat euenisse, vti bona pars eorum & princeps in primis ipse ab his proderentur, | in quibus maximam spem reposuerunt. Tam facile quoduis in facinus impellunt munera, quibus illi nullum exhibent modum. Sed memores in quantum discrimen hortantur, operam dant, vti periculi magnitudo beneficiorum mole compensentur. eoque non immensam modo auri vim, sed predia quoque magni reditus in locis apud amicos tutissimis, propria ac perpetua polliceantur, & summa cum fide prestant. Hunc licitandi mercandique hostis morem, apud alios improbatum, velut animi degeneris crudele facinus illi magnae sibi laudi ducunt, tanquam prudentes, qui maximis hoc pacto bellis, sine vllo prorsus praelio defungantur, humanique ac misericordes etiam, qui paucorum nece noxiorum, numerosas innocentium vitas redimant, qui pugnando fuerint occubituri. Partim e suis, partim ex hostibus, quorum turbam vulgusque non minus ferme quam suos miserantur, gnari non sua sponte eos bellum capessere, sed principum ad id furiis agi. Si res hoc pacto non procedat, dissidiorum semina iaciunt, aluntque fratre principis, aut aliquo e nobilibus in spem potiundi regni perducto. Si factiones internae languerint, finitimas hostibus gentes excitant committuntque, eruto vetusto quopiam titulo, quales nunquam regibus desunt, suas ad bellum opes polliciti, pecuniam affluenter suggerunt. Ciues parcissime. quos tum vnice habent charos, tantique sese mutuo faciunt, vt neminem sint e suis cum aduerso principe libenter commutaturi. At aurum argentumque quoniam vnum hunc

in vsum omne seruant, haud grauatim erogant. vtpote non minus commode victuri, etiamsi vniuersum impenderent. Quin praeter domesticas diuitias est illis foris quoque infinitus thesaurus, quo plurimae gentes vti ante dixi in ipsorum aere sunt. ita milites vndique conductos ad bellum mittunt praesertim ex zapoletis. Hic populus quingentis passuum millibus ab Vtopia distat orientem solem versus, horridus, agrestis, ferox, syluas montesque asperos: quibus sunt innutriti: praeferunt. Dura gens: aestus: frigoris: & laboris patiens: delitiarum expers omnium: neque agriculturae studens: & cum aedi | ficiorum tum vestitus indiligens, pecorum duntaxat curam habent. Magna ex parte venatu & raptu viuit. Ad solum bellum nati cuius gerendi facultatem studiose querunt, repertam cupide amplectuntur, & magno numero egressi cuiuis requirenti milites vili semet offerunt. hanc vnam, vitae artem nouerunt, qua mors queritur, sub quibus merent, acriter pro hiis & incorrupta fide dimicant. Verum in nullum certum diem sese obstringunt, sed ea lege in partes veniunt, vt postero die, vel ab hostibus, oblato maiore stipendio sint staturi, iidem perendie rursus inuitati plusculo remigrant. Rarum oritur bellum, in quo non bona pars illorum in vtroque sint exercitu. itaque accidit quotidie vt sanguinis necessitudine, coniuncti, qui & iisdem in partibus conducti familiarissime semet inuicem vtebantur, paulo post in contrarias distracti copias, hostiliter concurrant. & infestis animis, obliti generis, immemores amicitiae, mutuo sese confodiant, nulla alia causa in mutuam incitati perniciem, quam quod a diuersis principibus exigua pecuniola conducti cuius tam exactam habent rationem, vt ad diurnum stipendium vnius accessione assis facile ad commutandas partes impellantur. Ita celeriter imbiberunt auariciam, quae tamen nulli est eis vsui. Nam quae sanguine quaerunt, protenus per luxum, & eum tamen miserum consumunt. Hic populus Vtopiensibus aduersus quosuis mortales militat, quod tanti ab hiis eorum conducatur opera quanti nusquam alibi. Vtopienses siquidem vt bonos quaerunt quibus vtantur, ita hos quoque homines pessimos quibus abutantur. quos quum vsus postulat, magnis impulsos pollicitationibus, maximis obiiciunt periculis, vnde plaerumque magna pars nunquam ad exigenda promissa reuertitur: superstitibus, quae sunt polliciti bona fide, persoluunt. quoad similes ausus incendantur. neque enim pensi quicquam habent quam multos ex eis perdant. rati de genere humano maximam merituros gratiam se, si tota illa colluuie populi tam tetri, ac

Gens haud ita dissimilis eluetiis

nepharii orbem terrarum purgare possent. Secundum hos eorum copiis vtuntur pro quibus arma capiunt, deinde au | xiliaribus caeterorum amicorum turmis. Postremo suos ciues adiungunt: e quibus aliquem virtutis probatae virum, totius exercitus summae praeficiunt. Huic duos ita substituunt, vti eo incolumi, ambo priuati sint, capto aut interempto, alter e duobus velut hereditate succedat, eique ex euentu tertius. ne (vt sunt bellorum sortes variae) periclitante duce totus perturbetur exercitus. E quaque ciuitate delectus exercetur ex his, qui sponte nomen profitentur. neque enim inuitus quisquam foras in militiam truditur, quod persuasum habeant si quis sit natura timidior, non ipsum modo nihil facturum strenue, sed metum etiam comitibus incussurum Caeterum si quod bellum ingruat in patriam, ignauos huiusmodi, modo valeant corpore, in naues mixtos melioribus collocant: Aut in mœnibus sparsim disponunt. vnde non sit refugiendi locus. ita suorum pudor, hostis in manibus, atque adempta fugae spes, timorem obruunt, & saepe extrema necessitas in virtutem vertitur. At sicuti ad externum bellum ex ipsis nemo protrahitur nolens, ita fœminas volentes in militiam comitari maritos, adeo non prohibent, vt exhortentur etiam & laudibus incitent, profectas cum suo quamque viro, pariter in acie constituunt: tum sui quemque liberi affines cognati circumsistunt. vt hi de proximo sint mutuo sibi subsidio quos maxime ad ferendas inuicem suppetias natura stimulat. In maximo probro est coniunx absque coniuge redux: aut amisso parente reuersus filius. quo fit vti si ad ipsorum manus ventum sit modo perstent hostes: longo & lugubri prelio ad internitionem vsque decernatur. Nempe vt omnibus curant modis ne ipsis dimicare necesse sit: modo bello possint vicaria conductitiorum manu defungi ita quum vitari non potest quin ipsi ineant pugnam: tam intrepide capessunt: quam quoad licuit prudenter detrectabant: nec tam primo ferociunt impetu quam mora sensim & duratione inualescunt: tam offirmatis animis vt interimi citius quam auerti queant: Quippe victus illa securitas quae cuique domi est, ademptaque de posteris anxia cogitandi cura (Nam haec solitudo generosos vbi- | que spiritus frangit) sublimem & vinci dedignantem facit, ad haec militaris disciplinae peritia fiduciam praebet, postremo rectae opiniones (quibus & doctrina & bonis reipublicae institutis imbuti a pueris sunt) virtutem addunt. qua neque tam vilem habent vitam: vt temere prodigant neque tam improbe charam, vt quum honestas ponendam suadeat, auare turpiterque retineant. Dum

Dux potissimum impetendus: quo citius finiatur bellum.

vbique pugna maxima feruet, lectissimi iuuenes coniurati, deuotique, ducem sibi deposcunt aduersum, hunc aperte inuadunt, hunc ex insidiis adoriuntur, idem eminus, idem cominus petitur, longoque ac perpetuo cuneo, summissis assidue in fatigatorum locum recentibus, oppugnatur. raroque accidit (ni sibi fuga prospiciat) vt non intereat aut viuus in hostium potestatem veniat Si ab ipsis victoria sit, haud quaquam cede grassantur: fugatos enim comprehendunt: quam occidunt libentius. neque vnquam ita persequuntur fugientes: vt non vnam interim sub signis instructam aciem retineant. adeo nisi caeteris superati partibus: postrema acie sua victoriam adepti sint: elabi potius hostes vniuersos sinant: quam insequi fugientes perturbatis suorum ordinibus insuescant. memores sibimet haud semel vsu venisse: vt mole totius exercitus victa profligataque: quum hostes victoria gestientes: hac atque illac abeuntes persequerentur: pauci ipsorum in subsidiis collocati ad occasiones intenti: dispersos ac palantes illos & praesumpta securitate negligentes de repente adorti: totius euentum praelii mutauerunt. extortaque e manibus tam certa & indubitata victoria: victi victores inuicem vicerunt. Haud facile dictu est: astutiores instruendis insidiis: an cautiores ad vitandas sient. fugam parare credas: quum nihil minus in animo habent: contra quum id consilii capiunt: nihil minus cogitare putes. Nam si nimium sese sentiunt aut numero aut loco premi: tunc aut noctu: agmine silente: castra mouent: aut aliquo stratagemate eludunt: aut interdiu ita sensim sese referunt: tali seruato ordine: vt non minus periculi sit cedentes quam instantes adoriri. | Castra diligentissime communiunt fossa prealta lataque, terra quae egeritur introrsum reiecta: nec in eam rem opera mediastinorum vtuntur; ipsorum manibus militum res agitur, totusque exercitus in opere est: exceptis qui pro vallo in armis ad subitos casus excubant. Itaque tam multis adnitentibus: magna multumque amplexa loci munimenta, omni fide citius perficiunt.

Armis vtuntur ad excipiendos ictus, firmis, nec ad motum gestumue quemlibet ineptis, adeo vt ne natando quidem molesta sentiant. Nam armati natare inter militaris disciplinae rudimenta consuescunt: tela sunt eminus sagittae quas acerrime simul & certissime iaculantur non pedites modo sed ex equis etiam, cominus vero non gladii: sed secures vel acie letales vel pondere seu cesim seu puctim feriant. Machinas excogitant sollertissime, factas accuratissime celant ne ante proditae quam res postulet. ludibrio magis quam vsui sint: in quibus fabricandis hoc in

Forme armorum

primis respiciunt: vti vectu faciles & habiles circumactu sint.

De induciis. Initas cum hostibus inducias tam sancte obseruant vt ne lacessiti quidem violent. Hostilem terram non depopulantur: neque segetes exurunt, imo ne hominum equorumue pedibus: conterantur, quantum fieri potest prouident, rati in ipsorum vsus crescere. Inermem neminem ledunt, nisi idem speculator sit. Deditas vrbes tuentur, at nec expugnatas: diripiunt, sed per quos deditio est impedita eos enecant: caeteris defensoribus in seruitutem addictis. Imbellem turbam omnem relinquunt intactam. Si quos deditionem suasisse compererint, hiis e damnatorum bonis aliquam partem impartiunt, reliqua sectione auxiliares donant. Nam ipsorum nemo quicquam de

At hodie victores maximam partem dependunt. preda cupit. Caeterum confecto bello, non amicis impensas in quos insumpsere: sed victis imputant: exiguntque eo nomine: partim pecuniam quam in similes bellorum vsus reseruant: partim praedia quae sint ipsis apud eos perpetua non exigui census.

Huiusmodi reditus nunc apud multas gentes habent, qui | variis ex causis paulatim nati: supra septingenta ducatorum millia in singulos annos excreuere: in quos e suis ciuibus aliquos emittunt questorum nomine, qui magnifice viuant, personamque magnatum illic pre se ferant: at multum tamen superest quod inferatur aerario, nisi malint eidem genti credere: quod saepe tantisper faciunt: quoad vti necesse sit, vixque accidit vnquam, vt totam reposcant. Ex hiis prediis partem assignant illis: qui ipsorum hortatu tale discrimen adeunt quale ante monstraui, si quis princeps armis aduersus eos sumptis, eorum ditionem paret inuadere, magnis illico viribus extra suos fines occurrunt: nam neque temere in suis terris bellum gerunt: neque vlla necessitas tanta est vt eos cogat aliena auxilia in insulam suam admittere.

De Religionibus Vtopiensium.

Religiones sunt non per insulam modo: verum singulas etiam vrbes variae, aliis solem, lunam aliis, aliis aliud errantium syderum, dei vice venerantibus, sunt quibus homo quispiam: cuius olim aut virtus aut gloria enituit: non pro deo tantum, sed pro summo etiam deo suspicitur. At multo maxima pars, eademque longe prudentior, nihil horum: sed vnum quoddam numen putant, incognitum: aeternum immensum, inexplicabile, quod supra mentis humanae captum sit, per mundum hunc vniuersum, virtute non mole diffusum: hunc parentem vocant. Origines, auctus, progressus, vices finesque rerum omnium. huic

acceptos vni referunt: nec diuinos honores alii praeterea vlli, applicant. Quin caeteris quoque omnibus, quanquam diuersa credentibus hoc tamen cum istis conuenit quod esse quidem vnum censent summum, cui & vniuersitatis opificium & prouidentia debeatur, eumque communiter omnes patria lingua Mythram appellant sed eo dissentiunt, quod idem alius apud alios habetur. Autumante quoque quicquid id sit, quod ipse summum ducit, eandem illam prorsus esse naturam, cuius vnius numini ac maiestati, rerum omnium summa: omnium | consensu gentium tribuitur. Caeterum paulatim omnes ab ea superstitionum varietatae desciscunt, atque in vnam illam coalescunt religionem: quae reliquas ratione videtur antecellere. neque dubium est quin caeterae iam pridem euanuissent, nisi quicquid in posterum cuiquam inter mutandae religionis consilia fors obiecisset, non id accidisse casu: sed celitus immissum interpretaretur timor: tanquam numine, cuius relinquebatur cultus, impium contra se propositum vindicante. At posteaquam acceperunt a nobis Christi nomen, doctrinam, mores, miracula: nec minus mirandam tot martyrum constantiam: quorum sponte fusus sanguis, tam numerosas gentes in suam sectam longe lateque traduxit, non credas quam pronis in eam affectibus etiam ipsi concesserint, siue hoc secretius inspirante deo: siue quod eadem visa est heresi proxima, quae est apud ipsos potissima, quanquam hoc quoque fuisse non paulum momenti crediderim, quod Christo communem suorum victum audierant placuisse: & apud germanissimos Christianorum conuentus adhuc in vsu esse. Certe quoquo id momento accidit, haud pauci nostram in religionem coierunt Lymphaque sacra sunt abluti. Verum quoniam in nobis quatuor (totidem enim duntaxat supereramus, nam duo fatis concesserant) nemo id quod doleo, sacerdos erat: caeteris initiati, ea tamen adhuc sacramenta desyderant, quae apud nos non nisi sacerdotes conferunt: intelligunt tamen, optantque ita vt nihil vehementius: quin hoc quoque sedulo iam inter se disputant an sine Christiani pontificis missu quisquam e suo numero delectus sacerdotii consequatur characterem, & electuri: sane videbantur, verum quum ego discederem: nondum elegerant. Quin hii quoque religioni christianae qui non assentiunt: neminem tamen absterrent: nullum oppugnant imbutum. Nisi quod vnus e nostro cœto me praesente cohercitus est. Is quum recens ablutus: nobis contra suadentibus, de Christi cultu publice maiore studio quam prudentia dissereret, vsque adeo cœpit incalescere: vt iam non nostra modo sacra caeteris anteferret, | Cenobia.

Laude trahendi sunt homines ad religionem:

sed protenus vniuersa damnaret. Prophana ipsa, cultores impios ac sacrilegos: aeterno plectendos igni vociferaretur Talia diu concionantem comprehendunt, ac reum non sprete religionis: sed excitati in populo tumultus agunt: peraguntque, damnatum: exilio mulctant: siquidem hoc inter antiquissima instituta numerant, ne sua cuiquam religio fraudi sit. Vtopiensis enim iam inde ab initio, quum accepisset incolas ante suum aduentum de religionibus inter se assidue dimicasse atque animaduertisset eam rem, quod in commune dissidentes, singulae pro patria sectae pugnabant, occasionem prestitisse sibi vincendarum omnium, adeptus victoriam sanxit, vti quam cuique religionem libeat sequi liceat: vt vero alios quoque in suam traducat, hactenus niti possit, vti placide ac modeste suam rationibus astruat, non vt acerbe caeteras destruat si suadendo non persuadeat, neque vim vllam adhibeat: & conuiciis temperet: petulantius hac de re contendentem exilio aut seruitute mulctant. Haec Vtopiensis instituit non respectu pacis modo quam assiduo certamine: inexpiabili odio funditus vidit euerti, sed quod arbitratus est, vti sic decerneretur, ipsius etiam religionis interesse, de qua nihil est ausus temere definire: velut incertum habens: an varium ac multiplicem expetens cultum deus, aliud inspiret alii, certe vi ac minis exigere: & quod tu verum credis idem omnibus videatur, hoc vero & insolens & ineptum censuit tum si maxime vna vera sit: caeterae omnes vanae, facile tamen preuidit (modo cum ratione ac modestia res agatur) futurum denique: vt ipsa per se veri vis aemergat aliquando atque aemineat. sin armis & tumultu certetur, vt sint pessimi quique maxime peruicaces: optimam ac sanctissimam religionem ob uanissimas inter se superstitiones, vt segetes inter spinas ac frutices obrutum iri. Itaque hanc totam rem in medio posuit: & quod credendum putaret liberum cuique reliquit. Nisi quod sancte ac seuere vetuit: ne quis vsque adeo ab humanae naturae dignitate degeneret, vt animas quoque interire cum corpore, aut mundum temere ferri, sublata prouidentia putet. atque ideo post hanc vitam supplicia vitiis decreta, virtuti praemia constituta credunt. contra sentientem, ne in hominum | quidem ducunt numero, vt qui sublimem animae suae naturam, ad pecuini corpusculi vilitatem deiecerit, tantum abest vt inter ciues ponant, quorum instituta moresque, si per metum liceat omnes, floccifacturus sit. Cui enim dubium esse potest, quum is publicas patriae leges, aut arte clam eludere, aut vi nititur infringere, dum suae priuatim cupiditati seruiat,

cui nullus vltra leges metus, nihil vltra corpus spei superest amplius. Quam ob rem sic animato nullus communicatur honos, nullus magistratus committitur, nulli publico muneri praeficitur. Ita passim velut inertis ac iacentis naturae despicitur. Caeterum nullo afficiunt supplicio, quod persuasum habeant, nulli hoc in manu esse, vt quicquid libet sentiat, sed nec minis adigunt vllis, animum vt dissimulet suum nec fucos admittunt & mendacia, quae velut proxima fraudi, mirum quam habent inuisa. Verum ne pro sua disputet sententia prohibent, atque id dumtaxat apud vulgus. Nam alioquin apud sacerdotes grauesque viros seorsum, non sinunt modo, sed hortantur quoque, confisi fore vt ea tandem vesania rationi cedat. Sunt & alii nec hii sane pauci, nempe improhibiti, veluti neque ratione penitus pro se carentes: neque mali, qui vicio longe diuerso, brutorum quoque aeternas esse animas opinantur. At nostris tamen neque dignitate comparandas neque ad aequam natas felicitatem. hominum enim cuncti fere tam immensam fore beatitudinem pro certo atque explorato habent, vt morbum lamententur omnium, mortem vero nullius, nisi quem vident anxie e vita inuitumque diuelli. Nempe hoc pro pessimo habent augurio, tanquam anima exspes ac male conscia, occulto quopiam imminentis pœnae praesagio, reformidet exitum. Ad hoc haudquaquam gratum deo eius putant aduentum fore, qui quum sit accersitus, non accurrit libens, sed inuitus ac detrectans pertrahitur. Hoc igitur mortis genus, qui intuentur horrent, itaque defunctos, mesti ac silentes efferunt, precatique propicium manibus deum, vti eorum claementer infirmitatibus ignoscat: terra cadauer obruunt. Contra: quicunque alacriter ac pleni bona spe decesserint: hos | nemo luget: sed cantu prosequuti funus: animas deo: magno commendantes affectu: corpora tandem reuerenter magis quam dolenter concremant: columnamque loco insculptis defuncti titulis erigunt. domum reuersi: mores actaque eius recensent: nec vlla vitae pars: aut saepius: aut libentius: quam laetus tractatur interitus. Hanc probitatis memoriam: & viuis efficacissima rentur incitamenta virtutum: & gratissimum defunctis cultum putant: quos interesse quoque de se sermonibus opinantur: quanquam (vt est hebes mortalium acies) inuisibiles. Nam neque felicium sorti conueniat: libertate carere migrandi quo velint: & ingratorum fuerit prorsus abiecisse desyderium amicos inuisendi suos: quibus eos dum viuerent mutuus amor charitasque deuinxerat: quanquam bonis viris: vt caetera bona: adaucta post fata

Mira opinio de animabus brutorum.

potius quam imminuta coniectant. Mortuos ergo versari inter viuentes credunt: dictorum factorumque spectatores: eoque res agendas fidentius aggrediuntur: talibus velut freti presidibus: & ab inhonesto secreto deterret eos: credita maiorum praesentia. Auguria caeterasque superstitionis vanae diuinationes: quarum apud alias gentes magna est obseruatio: negligunt prorsus atque irrident. Miracula vero: quae nullo naturae proueniunt adminiculo: velut praesentis opera testesque numinis venerantur: qualia & ibi frequenter extare ferunt: & magnis interdum ac dubiis in rebus publica supplicatione: certa cum fiducia procurant impetrantque. Gratum deo cultum putant naturae contemplationem: laudemque ab ea. sunt tamen hiique haud sane pauci:: qui religione ducti: literas negligunt: nulli rerum cognitioni student: neque ocio prorsus vlli vacant: negociis tantum: bonisque in caeteris officiis statuunt: futuram post fata felicitatem promoueri. Itaque alii egrotis inseruiunt, alii vias reficiunt, purgant fossas, pontes reparant, cespites, arenam, lapides effodiunt, arbores demoliuntur ac dissecant, bigisque ligna, fruges, item alia in vrbes important, nec in publicum modo, sed priuatim quoque ministros ac plus quam seruos agunt. Nam quicquid vsquam operis est asperum, difficile, sor-didum, a quo plaerosque labor, fastidium, desperatio, deterreat, hoc illi sibi totum libentes, hilaresque desumunt, caeteris ocium procurant, ipsi perpetuo in opere ac labore versantur, nec imputant tamen nec aliorum suggillant vitam, nec suam efferunt. Hii quo magis sese seruos exhibent, eo maiore apud omnes in honore sunt. Eorum tamen haereses duae sunt, altera caelebum, qui non venere modo in totum abstinent, sed carnium esu quoque. quidam animalium etiam omnium, reiectisque penitus tanquam noxiis vitae praesentis voluptatibus, futurae dumtaxat, per vigilias ac sudores inhiant, eius propediem obtinendae spe, alacres interim vegetique. Altera laboris haud minus appetens, coniugium praefert, vt cuius nec aspernantur solacium, & opus, naturae debere se, & patriae liberos putant. Nullam voluptatem refugiunt, quae nihil eos ab labore demoretur. Carnes quadrupedum vel eo nomine diligunt, quod tali cibo se validiores ad opus quodque censeant. Hos Vtopiani prudentiores, at illos sanctiores reputant. Quos quod caelebatum anteferunt matrimonio, asperamque vitam placidae anteponunt, si rationibus niterentur irriderent, nunc vero quum se fateantur religione duci suspiciunt ac reuerentur. Nihil enim sollicitius obseruant quam ne temere quicquam vlla de religione pronuntient.

Vita actiua.

Huiusmodi ergo sunt, quos illi peculiari nomine sua lingua Buthrescas vocant, quod verbum latine religiosos licet interpretari. Sacerdotes habent eximia sanctitate eoque admodum paucos. neque enim plus quam tredecim in singulis habent vrbibus pari templorum numero nisi quum itur ad bellum. tunc enim septem ex illis cum exercitu profectis totidem sufficiuntur interim, sed illi reuersi suum quisque locum recuperat, qui supersunt hii quoad decedentibus illis ordine succedunt comites interea sunt pontificis. Nam vnus reliquis praeficitur. Eliguntur a populo, idque caeterorum ritu magistratuum, occultis, ad studia vitanda, suffragiis. electi a suo collegio consecrantur. Hii rebus diuinis praesunt, religiones curant ac morum veluti censores | sunt, magnoque pudori ducitur ab hiis quenquam tanquam vitae parum probatae accersi compellariue. Caeterum vt hortari atque admonere illorum est, ita cohercere atque in facinorosos animaduertere principis, atque aliorum est magistratuum. nisi quod sacris interdicunt quos improbe malos comperiunt. nec vllum fere supplicium est quod horreant magis. Nam & summa percelluntur infamia & occulto religionis metu lacerantur, ne corporibus quidem diu futuris in tuto. quippe ni properam pœnitentiam sacerdotibus approbent, comprehensi impietatis pœnam senatui persoluunt, pueritia iuuentusque ab illis eruditur nec prior literarum cura quam morum ac virtutis habetur, namque summam adhibent industriam vt bonas protenus opiniones & conseruandae ipsorum reipublicae vtiles, teneris adhuc & sequacibus puerorum animis instillent, quae vbi pueris penitus insederint viros per totam vitam comitantur magnamque ad tuendum publicae rei statum (qui non nisi viciis dilabitur quae ex peruersis nascuntur opinionibus) afferunt vtilitatem. Sacerdotibus (ni fœminae sint. nam neque ille sexus excluditur: sed rarius, & non nisi vidua natuque grandis eligitur) vxores sunt popularium selectissimae. Neque enim vlli apud Vtopienses magistratui maior habetur honos vsque adeo: vt si quid etiam flagicii admiserint nulli publico iudicio subsint, deo tantum ac sibi relinquuntur. Neque enim fas putant illum quantumuis scelestum mortali manu contingere: qui deo tam singulari modo velut anathema dedicatus est. qui mos illis facilior est obseruatu, quod sacerdotes & tam pauci: & tanta cum cura deliguntur. Nam neque temere accidit: vt qui ex bonis optimus ad tantam dignitatem: solius respectum virtutis euehitur, in corruptelam & vicium degeneret: & si iam maxime contingeret vt est mortalium natura mutabilis, tamen

Femine sacerdotes.

Excommunicatio.

qua sunt paucitate nec vlla praeter honorm peotestate prediti: ad publicam certe perniciem nihil magni ab his momenti pertimescendum sit. Quos ideo tam raros atque infrequentes habent, ne dignitas ordinis: quem nunc tanta veneratione prosequuntur, communicato cum multis honore, vilesceret praesertim quum difficile putent frequentes inuenire tam bonos vt ei sint dignitati pares, ad quam gerendam non sufficit mediocribus esse virtutibus. Nec eorum aestimatio apud suos magis quam apud exteras etiam gentes habetur, quod inde facile patet vnde etiam natum puto. Nempe decernentibus prelio copiis, seorsum illi non admodum procul considunt in genibus, sacras induti vestes, tensis ad cœlum palmis, primum omnium pacem, proxime: suis victoriam sed neutri cruentam parti comprecantur, vincentibus suis decurrunt in aciem: seuientesque in profligatos inhibent: vidisse tantum atque appellasse praesentes ad vitam satis, diffluentium contactus vestium reliquas quoque fortunas ab omni bellorum iniuria defendit. Qua ex re apud omnes vndique gentes, tanta illis veneratio, tantum vere maiestatis accessit: vt saepe ab hostibus non minus salutis ad ciues reportarint, quam ab ipsis ad hostes attulissent. siquidem aliquando constat, inclinata suorum acie, desperatis rebus, quum ipsi in fugam verterentur: hostes in cedem ac praedam ruerent, interuentu sacerdotum interpellatam stragem: ac diremptis inuicem copiis: pacem equis condicionibus esse compositam atque constitutam. Neque enim vnquam fuit vlla gens tam fera, crudelis, ac barbara, apud quos ipsorum corpus non sacrosanctum, atque inuiolabile sit habitum: festos celebrant initialem atque vltimum cuiusque mensis: diem & anni item, quem in menses partiuntur: circuitu lunae finitos, vt solis ambitus annum circinat. Primos quosque dies cynemernos, postremos ipsorum lingua Trapemernos appellant, quae vocabula perinde sonant ac si primifesti & finifesti vocentur. Delubra visuntur egregia vtpote non operosa modo, sed quod erat in tanta ipsorum paucitate necessarium, immensi etiam populi capacia. Sunt tamen omnia subobscura nec id aedificandi inscitia factum: sed consilio sacerdotum ferunt, quod immodicam lucem cogitationes disper-gere: partiore ac velut dubia colligi animos: & intendi religionem putant. quae quoniam non est ibi apud omnes eadem: & vniuersae tamen eius formae quanquam variae ac multiplices in diuinae naturae cultum velut in vnum finem diuersa via commigrant: idcirco nihil in templis visitur auditurue quod non quadrare

At apud nos quanta turba est.

O sacerdotes nostris longe sanctiores.

Festorum dierum apud Utopienses obseruatio.

Templa cuiusmodi.

ad cunctas in commune videatur. Si quod proprium sit cuiusquam Sectae sacrum: id intra domesticos quisque parietes curat: publica tali peragunt ordine qui nulli prorsus ex priuatis deroget. Itaque nulla deorum effigies in templo conspicitur: quo liberum cuique sit qua forma deum velit e summa religione concipere. nullum peculiare dei nomen inuocant: sed Mythrae dumtaxat: quo vocabulo cuncti in vnam diuinae maiestatis naturam: quaecunque sit illa: conspirant: nullae concipiuntur preces: quas non pronunciare quiuis inoffensa sua secta possit. Ad templum ergo in finifestis diebus vespere conueniunt: adhuc ieiuni: acturi deo de anno menseue cuius id festum postremus dies est: prospere acto gratias: postero die nam is primifestus est: mane ad templa confluitur vt insequentis anni mensisue: quem ab illo auspicaturi festo sint: faustum fœlicemque successum comprecentur. At in finifestis antea quam templum petunt vxores domi ad virorum pedes: liberi ad parentum prouoluti: peccasse fatentur sese aut admisso aliquo aut officio indiligenter obito veniamque errati precantur. ita si qua se nubecula domesticae simultatis offuderat tali satisfactione discutitur vti animo puro ac sereno sacrificiis intersint: nam interesse turbido: religio est: eoque odii iraeve in quenquam sibi conscii: nisi reconciliati ac defecatis affectibus ad sacrificia non ingerunt sese: vindictae celeris: magnaeque metu. Eo quum veniunt: viri in dextram delubri partem: fœminae seorsum in sinistram commeant: tum ita se collocant vt cuiusque domus masculi ante patrem familias consideant: fœminarum materfamilias agmen claudat: ita prospicitur vti omnes omnium gestus foris ab hiis obseruentur; quorum autoritate domi ac disciplina reguntur, quin hoc quoque sedu | lo cauent, vti iunior ibi passim cum seniore copuletur, ne pueri pueris crediti, id temporis puerilibus transigant ineptiis, in quo deberent maxime religiosum erga superos metum, maximum ac prope vnicum virtutibus incitamentum concipere. Nullum animal in sacrificiis mactant, nec sanguine rentur ac cedibus diuinam gaudere clementiam, qui vitam animantibus ideo est elargitus, vt viuerent. Thus incendunt & alia item odoramenta, ad haec cereos numerosos praeferunt, non quod haec nesciant nihil ad diuinam conferre naturam, quippe vt nec ipsas hominum preces, sed & innoxium colendi genus placet, & hiis odoribus luminibusque, ac caeteris etiam cerimoniis nescio quomodo sese sentiunt homines erigi, atque in dei cultum animo alacriore consurgere. Candidis in templo vestibus amicitur populus, sacerdos

Confessio Utopiensium.

At apud nos qui sunt in. qui natissimi aris proximi esse contendunt.

versicolores induitur: & opere & forma mirabiles materia non perinde preciosa. neque enim auro intextae aut raris coagmentatae lapidibus: sed diuersis auium plumis: tam scite tantoque artificio laboratae sunt: vt operis precium nullius aestimatio materiae fuerit aequatura. Ad hoc in illis volucrum pennis plumisque: & certis earum ordinibus quibus in sacerdotis veste discriminantur: arcana quaedam dicunt contineri mysteria: quorum interpretatione cognita (quae per sacrificos diligenter traditur) diuinorum in se beneficiorum suaeque vicissim pietatis in deum: ac mutui quoque inter se officii admoneantur. Quum primum sacerdos ita ornatus ex adyto sese offert: cuncti protenus in terram venerabundi procumbunt: tam alto ab omni parte silentio: vt ipsa rei facies: terrorem quendam velut praesentis cuiuspiam numinis incutiat. Tellure paulim morati: dato ab sacerdote signo: erigunt sese: tum laudes deo canunt quas musicis instrumentis interstingunt: aliis magna ex parte formis: quam quae nostro visuntur orbe. Ex illis pleraque sicuti quae nobis in vsu sunt: multum suauitate vincunt. ita quaedam nostris ne conferenda quidem sint. Verum vna in re haud dubie longo nos interuallo precellunt. quod omnis eorum musica: siue quae personatur organis: siue quam voce modulantur humana: ita naturales affectus imitatur & exprimit: ita sonus accommodatur ad rem, seu deprecantis oratio sit, seu laeta, placabilis, turbida, lu | gubris, irata, ita rei sensum quendam melodiae forma repraesentat, vt animos auditorum mirum in modum afficiat, penetret, incendat. solennes ad vltimum conceptis verbis preces, sacerdos pariter populusque percensent, ita compositas vt quae simul cuncti recitant, priuatim quisque ad semet referat. In hiis deum & creationis & gubernationis & caeterorum praeterea bonorum omnium, quilibet recognoscit authorem, tot ob recepta beneficia gratias agit, nominatim vero quod deo propicio in eam rem publicam inciderit quae sit felicissima, eam religionem sortitus sit, quam speret esse verissimam. Qua in re, si quid erret, aut si quid sit alterutra melius & quod deus magis approbet, orare se eius bonitas efficiat, hoc vt ipse cognoscat. paratum enim sequi se quaqua versus ab eo ducatur, sin & haec reipublicae forma sit optima, & sua religio rectissima, tum vti & ipsi constantiam tribuat, & caeteros mortales omneis ad eadem instituta viuendi, in eandem de deo opinionem perducat, nisi per inscrutabilem eius voluntatem etiam sit, quod in hac religionum

Musica Utopiensium.

varietate delectet. Denique precatur vt facile defunctum exitu ad se recipiat, quam cito serove praefinire quidem non audere se. Quanquam quod inoffensa eius maiestate fiat, multo magis ipsi futurum cordi sit, difficillima morte obita, ad deum peruadere, quam ab eo diutius, prosperrimo vitae cursu distineri. Hac prece dicta rursus in terram proni pauloque post erecti, discedunt pransum, & quod superest diei ludis & exercitio militaris disciplinae percurrunt.

Descripsi vobis quam potui verissime eius formam reipublicae quam ego certe non optimam tantum: sed solam etiam censeo: quae sibi suo iure possit rei publicae vendicare vocabulum. Siquidem alibi: de publico loquentes vbique commodo: priuatum curant. Hic vbi nihil priuati est: serio publicum negotium agunt: certe vtrobique merito. Nam alibi: quotus quisque est qui nesciat: nisi quid seorsum prospiciat sibi: quantumuis florente republica. semet tamen fame periturum: eoque necessitas vrget vi sui potius, quam populi id est aliorum habendam sibi rationem censeat. Contra hic, vbi omnia omnium sunt, nemo dubitat, (curetur modo vt plena sint horrea publica) quicquam priuati cuiquam non defuturum. Neque enim maligna rerum distributio est, neque inops neque mendicus ibi quisquam, & quum nemo quicquam habeat, omnes tamen diuites sunt. Nam quid ditius esse potest, quam adempta prorsus omni sollicitudine, laeto ac tranquillo animo viuere? non de suo victu trepidum, non vxoris querula flagitatione vexatum, non paupertatem filio metuentem, non de filiae dote anxium, sed de suo suorumque omnium, vxoris, filiorum, nepotum, pronepotum, abnepotum, & quam longam posterorum seriem suorum, generosi praesumunt: victu esse ac felicitate securum. Quid quod nihilo minus his prospicitur, qui nunc impotes olim laborauerunt, quam his qui nunc laborant. Hic aliquis velim cum hac aequitate audeat aliarum iusticiam gentium comparare apud quas dispeream, si vllum prorsus comperio, iusticiae aequitatisque vestigium. Nam quae haec iusticia est: vt nobilis quispiam, aut aurifex, aut fenerator, aut denique alius quisquam eorum, qui aut omnino nihil agunt, aut id quod agunt eius generis est, vt non sit reipublicae magnopere necessarium, lautam ac splendidam vitam, vel ex ocio, vel superuacuo negocio consequatur, quum interim mediastinus, auriga, faber, agricola, tanto tamque assiduo labore, quam vix iumenta sustineant, tam

necessario, vt sine eo ne vnum quidem annum possit vlla durare res publica. victum tamen adeo malignum parant, vitam adeo miseram ducunt: vt longe potior videri possit conditio iumentorum, quibus nec tam perpetuus labor, nec victus multo deterior est, & ipsis etiam suauior, nec vllus interim de futuro timor. At hos & labor sterilis: atque infructuosus, in praesenti stimulat, & inopis recordatio senectutis occidit, quippe quibus parcior est diurna merces, quam vt eidem possit diei sufficere, tantum abest vt excrescat, & supersit aliquid quod quotidie queat in senectutis vsum reponi. An non haec iniqua est & ingrata respublica, quae generosis vt vocant & aurificibus & id genus reliquis, aut ociosis aut tantum adulatoribus & inanium voluptatum artificibus, tanta munera prodigit. agricolis contra, carbonariis, mediastinis, aurigis & fabris: sine quibus nulla omnino respublica esset, nihil benigne prospicit. Sed eorum florentis aetatis abusa laboribus, annis tandem ac morbo graues, omnium | rerum indigos tot vigiliarum immemor, tot ac tantorum oblita beneficiorum miserrima morte repensat ingratissima Quid quod ex diurno pauperum demenso diuites cotidie aliquid, non modo priuata fraude, sed publicis etiam legibus abradunt, ita quod ante videbatur iniustum, optime de republica meritis pessimam referre gratiam, hoc isti deprauatum etiam fecerunt, tum prouulgata lege iusticiam. Itaque omnes has quae hodie vsquam florent respublicas animo intuenti ac versanti mihi, nihil sic me amet deus occurrit aliud quam quaedam conspiratio diuitum, de suis commodis reipublicae nomine tituloque tractantium. comminiscunturque & excogitant omnes modos atque artes quibus, quae malis artibus ipsi congesserunt, ea primum vt absque perdendi metu retineant, post hoc vt pauperum omnium opera, ac laboribus quam minimo sibi redimant, eisque abutantur. Haec machinamenta, vbi semel diuites publico nomine hoc est etiam pauperum, decreuerunt obseruari, iam leges fiunt. At homines deterrimi quum inexplebili cupiditate, quae fuerant omnibus suffectura, ea omnia inter se partiuerint, quam longe tamen ab Vtopiensium reipublicae felicitate absunt: aequa cum ipso vsu sublata penitus omni auiditate pecuniae, Quanta moles molestiarum recisa, quanta scelerum seges, radicitus euulsa est Quis enim nescit fraudes, furta, rapinas, rixas, tumultus, iurgia, seditiones, cedes, proditiones, veneficia cotidianis vindicata potius quam refrenata suppliciis, interempta pecunia commoriri, ad haec metum sollicitudinem, curas: labores: vigilias, eodem momento quo pecunia perituras, quin

Hec annota lector.

paupertas ipsa quae sola pecuniis visa est i[n]digere: pecunia prorsus vndique sublata: protenus etiam ipsa decesceret id quo fiat illustrius, reuolue in animo tecum annum aliquem sterilem: atque infecundum, in quo multa hominum millia, fames abstulerit: contendo plane in fine illius penuriae excussis diuitum horreis: tantum frugum potuisse reperiri: quantum si fuisset inter eos distributum: quos macies ac tabes absumpsit illam cœli solique parcitatem: nemo omnino sensisset: tam facile victus parari posset: nisi beata illa pecunia: quae preclare scilicet inuenta est, vt aditus ad victum per eam patesceret: sola nobis ad victum viam intercluderet. Sentiunt ista non dubito etiam diuites, nec ignorant quanto potior esset illa condicio nulla re necessaria carere: quam multis abundare superfluis, tam numerosis eripi malis quam magnis obsideri diuitiis. Neque mihi quidem dubitare subit, quin vel sui cuiusque commodi ratio vel Christi seruatoris autoritas (qui neque pro tanta sapientia potuit ignorare quid optimum esset, neque qua erat bonitate id consulere quod non optimum sciret) totum orbem facile in huius reipublicae leges iam dudum traxisset, nisi vna tantum bellua: omnium princeps parensque pestium superbia, reluctaretur haec non suis commodis prosperitatem: sed ex alienis metitur incommodis. haec ne dea quidem fieri vellet nullis relictis miseris quibus imperare atque insultare possit. Quorum miseriis praefulgeat ipsius comparata felicitas, quorum suis explicatis opibus, angat atque incendat inopiam. Haec auerni serpens mortalium pererrans pectora: ne meliorem vitae capessant viam velut remora retrahit ac remoratur, quae quoniam pressius hominibus infixa est quam vt facile possit euelli, hanc reipublicae formam quam omnibus libenter optarim, Vtopiensibus saltem contigisse gaudeo, qui ea vitae sunt instituta sequuti, quibus reipublicae fundamenta iecerunt non modo felicissime verumetiam quantum humana presagiri coniectura contigit, aeternum duratura. Extirpatis enim domi cum caeteris viciis ambitionis & factionum radicibus, nihil impendet periculi, ne domestico dissidio laboretur, quae vna multarum vrbium egregie munitas opes pessundedit. At salua domi concordia, & salubribus institutis: non omnium finitimorum inuidia principum (quae saepius id iam olim semper reuerberata tentauit) concutere illud imperium aut commouere queat. Haec vbi Raphael recensuit, quanquam haud pauca mihi succurrebant, quae in eius populi moribus legibusque perquam absurde videbantur instituta non solum de belli gerendi ratione

Mire dictum

& rebus diuinis : ac religione, aliisque insuper eorum institutis | sed in eo quoque ipso maxime : quod maximum totius institutionis fundamentum est vita scilicet, victuque communi, sine vllo pecuniae commercio, qua vna re funditus euertitur omnis nobilitas, magnificentia: splendor, maiestas, vera vt publica est opinio decora atque ornamenta reipublicae tamen quoniam defessum narrando sciebam neque mihi satis exploratum erat : posset ne ferre, vt contra suam sententiam sentiretur : praesertim quod recordabar, eo nomine quosdam ab illo reprehensos, quasi vererentur, ne non satis putarentur, sapere nisi aliquid inuenirent, in quo vellicare aliorum inuenta possent, idcirco & illorum institutione & ipsius oratione laudata, manu apprehendens intro caenatum duco : praefatus tamen aliud nobis tempus, iisdem de rebus altius cogitandi, atque vberius cum eo conferendi fore. Quod vtinam aliquando contingeret interea quemadmodum haud possum omnibus assentiri quae dicta sunt alioqui ab homine citra controuersiam eruditissimo simul & rerum humanarum peritissimo, ita facile confiteor permulta esse in Vtopiensium republica, quae in nostris ciuitatibus optarim verius, quam sperarim

Sermonis pomœridiani Raphaelis Hythlodei, de legibus & institutis Vtopiensis insulae paucis adhuc cognitae per Clarissimum & eruditissimum virum D. Thomam Morum Ciuem & Vicecomitem Londiniensem Finis.

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V.—*Plays dealing with the Life of Sir Thomas More.*

(In order of Publication.)

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Heroica in adversis Constantia T. Mori . . . quam . . . Congregatio Latina major . . . Mariæ Virginis . . . melodrammatica scena exhibuit in Academico Collegio Societatis Jesu Olomucii, etc. In prose and verse. [Olmutz, 1727.] 4to. [T. 1857 (6).]

Thomas More, ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Bd. 5. Deutsche Schaubühne. Augsburg, 1789. 8vo. [11745. aa.]

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B.—Utopia.

(Entries in order of Publication.)

I.—*Latin Text.*

Libellus vere aureus, nec minus salutaris, quam festivus, de optimo reip. statu, deq nova Insula Utopia . . . cura . . . P. Ægidii Antverpiēsis . . . nunc primum accuratissime editus. [Louvain, 1516.] 4to. [C. 27. b. 30.]

[Another edition.] Ad lectorem. Habes candide lector opusculum illud vere aureū T. Mori . . . de optimo reipublicę statu, deq nova insula Utopia, jam iterū sed multo correcti' q̄ pri' . . . æditū . . . p̃ter Erasmi annotatiões ac Budæi epl'am . . . Addita est etiā ipsius Mori epla eruditissima. [Paris, 1517 (?).] 8vo. [C. 65. e. 1.]

De optima reip. statu, deque nova insula Utopia, libellus vere aureus, nec minus salutaris, quam festivus. Epigrammata . . . T. Mori, pleraq e Græcis versa. Epigrammata D. Erasmi. 3pt. Apud I. Frobenium: Basileæ, Mense Martio, 1518. 4to. [G. 2398 (1.).]

[Another edition.] Apud J. Frobenium. Basileæ, Mense Decembri, 1518. 4to. [713. f. 1 (1.).]

T. Mori Utopia, a mendis vindicata et juxta Indicem libror. expurgat. Card. et Archiep. Toletani correcta. Coloniæ Agrippinae, 1629. 24mo. [718. a. 22.]

T. Mori Vtopia, a mendis vindicata [by P. Ægidius]. Amsterodami, 1629. 16mo. [8410. a. 31.]

Thomas Morus, Utopia. Herausgegeben von Victor Michels und Theobald Ziegler. Berlin, 1895. 8vo. Lateinische Litteraturdenkmäler. No. 11. [11305. d.]

[See also Lupton's ed. of Robinson's tr. (below, 1895).]

II.—*Ralph Robinson's Translation.*

A fruteful and pleasaunt worke of the beste state of a publyque weale, and of the newe yle called Utopia: written in Latine by Syr Thomas More knyght, and translated into Englyshe by Raphe Robynson Citizein and Goldsmythe of London, at the procurement, and earnest request of George Tadlowe Citezein & Haberdassher of the same Citie. London, 1551. 8vo. [C. 38. a. 11 and G. 2288.]

Nowe . . . at this seconde edition newlie . . . corrected, and also with divers notes in the margent augmented. London, [1556]. 8vo. [231. a. 39., 232. a. 47., and G. 2285 (2.).]

A Most pleasant, fruitfull, and wittie worke, of the best state of a publique weale, and of the new Yle called Utopia. . . . Third edition, newly corrected and amended. London, 1597. 4to. [12350. aaa. 44.]

Sir T. Moore's Utopia. . . . Now after many impressions newly Corrected, etc. London, 1624. 4to. [523. g. 26.]

A most pleasant, fruitful, and witty work, of the best state of a public weal, and of the new isle called Utopia; Written in Latin by . . . Sir T. More, . . . and translated into English by R. Robinson, A.D. 1551. A New Edition; With copious Notes, and a Biographical and Literary Introduction. By . . . T. F. Dibdin. London, 1808. 4to. [30. c. 13.]

Sir Thomas More. Utopia. Translated into English by R. Robinson. His second and revised edition, 1556; preceded by the title and epistle of his first edition, 1551. . . . Edited by E. Arber. London, 1869. 8vo. Arber's English Reprints. [12205. aaa. 35. (2).]

Utopia: Written in Latine by Syr Thomas More, Knyght, and translated into Englyshe by Raphe Robynson: Anno m.ccccc.li. With . . . notes and a Biographical and Literary Introduction by . . . T. F. Dibdin . . . with additional Notes and Corrections. [Edited, with a preface, by Robert Roberts.] Boston, Lincolnshire: 1878. 8vo. [12350. i. 2.]

More's Utopia. The English translation thereof made by R. Robynson . . . printed from the second edition 1556. To which is prefixed the Life of Sir T. More, written by . . . W. Roper . . . Edited, with introduction, notes, . . . and index of names, by J. R. Lumby. Cambridge and London. 1879. 8vo. Pitt Press Series. [2322. b. 36.]

The "Utopia," and the History of Edward V., . . . With Roper's Life. Edited, with Introduction, by Maurice Adams. London, [1890]. 8vo. The Camelot Classics. [12205. ff. 45.]

Utopia. [Robinson's translation. Revised by F. S. Ellis.] (Foreword by W. Morris.) [London], 1893. 8vo. Printed by W. Morris at the Kelmscott Press. [C. 43. e. 12.]

The Utopia of Sir Thomas More in Latin from the edition of March 1518, and in English from the first edition of Ralph Robynson's translation in 1551 with additional translations, introduction and notes by J. H. Lupton. With facsimiles. Oxford, 1895. 8vo. [12352. dd. 9.]

Sir Thomas More's Utopia. Translated into English by Raphe Robynson. (Edited by Robert Steele.) London, 1898. 8vo. The Temple Classics. [012200. de 49.]

Utopia. Introduction and notes by T. Lattimer. London, [1899]. 8vo. English Classics for Schools. [12201. df. 1/44.]

Utopia . . . Translated by Ralph Robynson. To which are added the life of the author by . . . W. Roper and some of his letters [Edited by G. Sampson.] London, 1903. Fol. Chiswick Library. [Crach. 6. b.]

Sir Thomas More's Utopia. Edited, with introduction and notes, by J. Churton Collins. Oxford, 1904. 8vo. [012355. de. 54.] Also re-issued 1908. [12357. de. 20.]

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Utopia. Translated by Raphe Robynson. Introduction and notes by A. J. Grieve. London, [1908]. 12mo. Dent's Temple Series of English Texts. [12274. df.]

Utopia. . . . Translated by Ralph Robinson. With an introduction by H. G. Wells. [London], 1908. 8vo. Red Letter Library. [012209. fff. 43.]

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The Utopia of Sir Thomas More Translated by Ralph Robinson With introduction and notes by H. B. Cotterill. London, 1908. 8vo. [12352. p. 12.]

More's Utopia Translated by Ralph Robinson; with introduction, text and notes, examination questions, and index. Edited by David Salmon. London, 1908. 8vo. [12352. pp. 27.]

III.—*Burnet's Translation.*

Utopia: written in Latin by Sir Thomas More. . . . translated into English [by G. Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury.] London, 1684. 8vo. [714. b. 14.]

[Another edition.] To this edition is added a short account of Sir Thomas More's life and his trial. Dublin, 1737. 12mo. [6495. a. 38.]

[Another edition.] (Testimonys concerning Sir Thomas More, etc.) Glasgow, 1743. 8vo. [12350. d. 12.]

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manners, customs, polity, government, etc., of that island. . . . To this edition is added, a short account of Sir T. More's life and trial. . . . Revis'd and . . . improved by T. Williamson. Oxford, 1751. 12mo. [12350. c. 29.]

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IV.—*Cayley's Translation.*

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La description de l'isle d'Utopie, ou est comprins le miroer des republicques du monde . . . Avec l'epistre liminaire composée par Monsieur Bude, etc. [Translated into French by J. Le Blond.] Paris, 1550. 8vo. [714. b. 15.]

La République d'Utopie . . . Traduite nouvellement de Latin en Francoys [by Jean Le Blond, and edited, with an "Advertissement declaratif," by M. B. A., *i.e.* Barthélemy Anneau]. Lyon, 1559. 16mo. [714. a. 34.]

L'Utopie . . . traduicte par S. Sorbière. Amsterdam, 1643. 24mo. [12350. aa. 24.]

L'Utopie de T. Morus . . . idée ingénieuse pour remédier au malheur des hommes . . . traduite . . . par Mr. Gueudeville. (Abrégé de la vie de T. Morus.) Leide, 1715. 8vo. [232. b. 20.]

[Another edition.] Idee d'une Republique heureuse: ou l'Utopie de T. Morus, etc. Amsterdam, 1730. 12mo. [8005. aaa. 24.]

Fragmens de l'Utopie, pp. 1–66. Tome IX. Bibliothèque Philosophique du législateur, etc. Berlin, 1782. 8vo. [1374. d. 9.]

VII.—*German Translations.*

Von der wunderbarlichen Innsel Utopia genant, das ander Buch, durch . . . T. Morū . . . zu Latin . . . beschriben, *etc.* [Translated by C. Cantiuncula.] Basel, 1524. 4to. [714. b. 38.]

De optimo Reipublicæ statu libellus vere aureus. Ordentliche . . . Beschreibung der . . . Insul Utopia . . . In unser Deutsche Sprach übergesetzt, etc. (Utopiæ pars II. Mundus alter et idem . . . Erstlich in lateinischer Sprach gestellt durch . . . Albericum Gentilem [or rather, Joseph Hall] . . . Nun aber . . . verteutscht, etc.) 2 pt. in verlegung Henning Grossen des Jüngern. Leipzig, 1612, 13. 8vo. [12352. b. 54.]

Des Englischen Canzlers Thomas Morus Utopien, in einer neuen und freyen Uebersetzung von J. B. K. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1753. 8vo. [714. a. 28.]

Thomas Morus und sein berühmtes Werk Utopia. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt [by H. Kothe]. Mit bio- und bibliographischer Einleitung herausgegeben von E. M. Oettinger. Leipzig, 1846. 8vo. [714. a. 27.]

Kautsky, Carl. Thomas More und seine Utopie. Mit einer historischen Einleitung. Stuttgart, 1890. 8vo. [10815. de 11.]

VIII.—*Italian Translations.*

La Republica nuovamente ritrovata, del governo dell' isola Eutopia, nella qual si vede nuovi modi di governare stati, reggier popoli, dar leggi à i senatori, etc. [Translated into Italian by Ortensio Landi, with a dedication by A. F. Doni.] Vinegia, 1548. 8vo. [714. b. 16 (1)].

Del Governo della Rep. d'Utopia. [An abridged translation by F. Sansovino.] Sansovino, F. Del Governo de i Regni e delle Republiche cosi antiche come moderne libri XVIII., etc. Venetia, 1561. 4to. [521. d. 5.]

IX.—*Spanish Translation.*

La Utopia de T. Moro, . . . traducida del Latin . . . por Don G. A. de Medinilla y Porres. . . . Dala a luz en esta segunda edicion, corregida, y añadida con el Resumen de la vida del autor, D. A. V. C. (Noticia . . . de la Utopia, y de T. Moro por F. de Quevedo Villegas.) 2nd ed. Madrid, 1790. 8vo. [8005. c. 25.]

X.—*Dutch Translation.*

De Utopie van Thomas Morus. . . . Nu eerst ouerghesedt in neder Duytssche. Thantwerpen, 1553. 8vo. [12410. a. 40.]

C.—Works (collected edd. and selections).

(In order of Publication.)

I. Latin.

Thomæ Mori. . . . Omnia, quæ hucusque ad manus nostras pervenerunt, Latina opera, etc. Apud P. Zangrium : Lovanii, 1565. fol. [3935. f. 5.]

Thomæ Mori. . . . Omnia, quæ hucusque ad manus nostras peruenerunt,

Latina Opera, etc. Apud Joannem Bogardum : Louanii, 1565. fol. [Voyn. 134.]

Thomæ Mori . . . lucubrationes ab innumeris mendis repurgatæ. Utopiæ libri II. Progymnasmata. Epigrammata. Ex Luciano conversa quædam. Declamatio Lucianicæ respondens. Epistolæ. Quibus additæ sunt, duæ aliorum [*i.e.* Erasmus et G. Courinus Nucerinus, *pseud.*] Epistolæ, de vita, moribus, et morte Mori. Apud Episcopium F[ratres] : Basil[iæ], 1563. 8vo. [630. b. 1.]

Thomæ Mori. . . . Opera omnia, quotquot reperiri potuerunt ex Basileensi anni MDLXIII, et Lovaniensi anni MDLXVI additionibus depromta . . . emendatioraque edita. Præfixæ, de vita et morte T. Mori [by T. Stapleton], Erasmi et Nucerini epistolæ, ut et doctorum virorum de eo elogio. 2 pt. Sumtibus C. Genschii : Francofurti ad Moenum et Lipsiæ, 1689. fol. [633. m. 13. (2).]

II. English.

The workes of Sir Thomas More . . . sometyme Lorde Chauncellour of England, wrytten by him in the Englysh tonge. [Edited by W. Rastell, with a table by T. Paynell.] At the costes . . . of J. Cawod, J. Waley, and R. Tottell. London, 1557. fol. [C. 11. b. 14, 15.]

Sir Thomas More ; a selection from his works, as well in prose as in verse. Forming a sequel to "Life and Times of Sir T. More." By W. J. Walter. Baltimore, [1841]. 12mo. [10817. aa. 17.]

The Wisdom and Wit of Blessed Thomas More ; being extracts from such of his works as were written in English. Collected and edited by Rev. T. E. Bridgett. London, 1892. 8vo. [3753. aaa. 10.]

D.—Separate Works.

(In order of Publication.)

I. Latin.

Luciani . . . cõpluria opuscula longe festiuissima ab Erasmo Roterodamo & Thoma moro . . . in latinorum linguam traducta, etc. [Paris], 1506. fol. [1385. k. 7. (1).]

Luciani Erasmo interprete dialogi & alia emuncta . . . Quædam etiam a T. Moro latina facta, etc. Parrhisiis, 1514. 4to. [G. 8294.]

Luciani Opuscula Erasmo Roterodamo interprete : Toxaris, sive de amicitia ; . . . Ejusdem Luciani T. Moro interprete ; Cynicus ; Menippus, seu Necromantia ; Philopseudes, seu incredulus ; Tyrannicida ; Declamatio Mori de eodem. Venetiis, 1516. 8vo. [1385. c. 11.]

Querela pacis undique gentium ejectæ profligatæque. (Ex Luciano quædam . . . ab Eras. versa. [With many other small works.] T. Mori . . . lucubrationes.) Basileæ, 1517. 4to. [G. 2398. (2).]

Luciani Samosatensis Saturnalia, Cronosolon . . ., Epistolæ Saturnales . . ., De astrologia, D. Erasmo . . . interprete. Aliquot item ex eodē commentarii T. Moro interprete, quos in calce huius libri numeratos reperies, etc. Basileæ, 1521. fol. [C. 39. h. 26.]

Luciani opuscula quædam, Erasmo Rote[rodamo] et T. Moro interpretib. Lugduni, 1528. 8vo. [C. 66. d. 12.]

Luciani Samosatensis dialogi aliquot D. Erasmo Rot. and T. Moro interpretibus. His accessit ex Philippi Melanchth. versione oratio Luciani, etc. Lugduni, 1535. 8vo. [833. d. 33.]

Luciani . . . opera . . . e Græco sermone in Latinum partim . . . diversis autoribus, partim . . . per J. Micyllum, translata, etc. (Autores qui in hoc opere vertendo elaborarunt. . . . T. Morus, etc.) Francofurti, 1543. fol. [8461. f. 28.]

Λουκιανου τα σωζομενα. Luciani omnia quæ extant, cum Latina interpretatione [of J. Micyllus, . . . T. Morus, etc.]. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1615. fol. [721. m. 11.]

Wagstaffe, J. The Question of Witchcraft debated . . . Φιλοψυδεις (*sic*). Lovers of Lies, a dialogue made by the famous Lucian [translated by Sir T. More]. London, 1669. 8vo. [8631. a. 24.]

Holt, J. Lac puerorum [A Latin Grammar, with two epigrams by Sir Thomas More.] Wynkyn de Worde: London, [1510?]. 4to. [C. 33. b. 47.]

Epigrammata clarissimi disertissimique viri Thomæ Mori Britanni, pleraque e Græcis versa (Basle) (March, 1518). [Not in B.M.]

Epigrammata T. Mori . . . ad emendatū exemplar ipsius autoris excusa. [Edited by B. Rhenanus.] Apud Joannem Frobenium: Basileæ, 1520. 4to. [11408. e. 31.]

Thomæ Mori Epistola ad Germanū Brixiū; qui quum Morus in libellum ejus, quo contumeliosis mendaciis incesserat Angliam: lusisset aliquot epigrammata . . . ædidit adversus Morum libellū qui . . . suum infamat authorem. In ædibus Pynsonis: Londini, 1520. 4to. [714. b. 13.] An answer to

Brixius, G. G. Brixii Antissiodorensis Antimorus. [Thome Mœri lapsus inexcusabiles in syllabarum quantitate, *i.e.* in the editions printed by Frobenius at Basle.] Lutetiæ, 1519. 4to. [78. c. 9.]

Rosseus, Gulielmus [*i.e.* Sir Thomas More.]. Eruditissimi viri G. Rossei opus . . . quo . . . refellit . . . Lutheri calumnias, quibus . . . Angliæ . . . regem Henricum . . . octavum scurra turpissimus insectatur: excusum denuo, . . . adjunctis indicibus, opera . . . J. Carcellij. Londini, 1523. 4to. [697. d. 12.]

Fragmenta quarundā Tho. Mori Epistolarum ad Erasmum Rot. & ad Joannem Coc[hlœum] *in* Antiqua et insignis Epistola Nicolai Pape. I. Lipsiæ, 1536. 4to. [3905. f. 77.]

Novitates quædam ex diversoꝝ præstantiu epistolis desumptæ . . . Thomæ Mori . . . nonnulloꝝ aliorum. 1536. 8vo. [4902. aaa. 29]

Doctissima D. T. Mori . . . Epistola, in qua non minus facete quam pie, respondet Literis Joannis Pomerani, . . . Opusculum . . . ex authoris quidem autographo emendato, ... editum. Lovanii, 1568. 8vo. [4136 a. 68.]

Psalmi seu Precationes D. Joan. Fisheri Episcopi Roffensis. Accessit imploratio divini auxilii contra tentationem ex Psalmis Davidis, Per T. Morum. Lugduni, 1572. 16mo. [3456. a. 12.]

T. Mori . . . dissertatio epistolica, de aliquot sui temporis theologastrorum ineptiis; deque correctione translationis vulgatæ N. Testamenti: ad M. Dorpium. (Erasmi epistola [on a dispute between him and Nicolaus Egmondanus].) Ex officina Elzeviriana: Lugduni Batavorum, 1625. 12mo. [3932. a. 4.]

Epistola T. Mori ad Academiam Oxon [reproaching the University for the neglect of the Greek language]. Cui adjecta sunt quædam poemata in mortem . . . R. Cottoni et T. Alleni. [By R. James.] J. Lichfield, impensis T. Huggins: Oxoniæ, 1633. 4to. [731. k. 7. (2).]

Thomæ Mori Angli. Qualis uxor deligenda, ad Candidum. Versus Jambici dimetri brachycatalectici, pp. 281–288 *of* Baudius, D. Amores, Edente Petro Scriverio, Inscripti Th. Graswinckelio Equiti. Lugduni-Batavorum, 1638. 12mo. [238. l. 1.]

Epistolarum D. Erasmi Roterodami Libri XXXI. et P. Melancthonis Libri IV. Quibus adjiciuntur Th. Mori & Lud. Vivis Epistolæ. Londini, 1642. fol. [830. m. 2.]

Peeke, Tho. Parnassi Puerperium: or some well-wishes to ingenuity, in the translation of six hundred of Owen's Epigrams . . . and the most select, in Sir Tho. More. London, 1659. [11408. a. 26.]

II. English.

A mery jest how a sergeant would learne to play the frere. London: Julian Notary. (Reissued in the Workes 1557, and commemorated in Laneham's Account of Coxe's Library in 1575.)

Pico della Mirandola, G. Here is cõteyned the lyfe of J. Picus Erle of Myrandula. . . . With dyvers epystles & other werkes of ye sayd J. Picus. [Translated by Sir Thomas More.] London, [1510?]. 4to. [276. c. 27.]

The Rules of a Christian Lyfe, made by John Picus . . . and . . . translated . . . by Sir Thomas More for his own Spiritual Guidance in the Married State. Pp. 405–413. The Following of Christ, by R. Whytford. Edited by W. Raynal. London, 1872. 8vo. [IX. Eng. 151.]

Pica della Mirandola, G. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: his life by his nephew Giovanni Francesco Pico: also three of his letters; his interpretation of Psalm xvi.; . . . Translated from the Latin by Sir Thomas More. Edited with introduction and notes by J. M. Rigg. London, 1890. 8vo. The Tudor Library. [12200. l. 14.]

The supplycacyon of soulys. Made by syr Thomas More knyght . . . Agaynst the supplycacyon of beggars [of S. Fish]. [W. Rastell: London, 1529(?).] Fol. [3935. f. 6.]

A dyaloge of syr Thomas More . . . Wherein be treatyd dyvers maters, as of the . . . Worshyp of ymagys & relyques, prayng to sayntys, and goyng õ pylgrymage. Wyth many othere thyngys

touchyng the pestylent sect of Luther and Tyndale, etc. Johannes Rastell: London, 1529. Fol. [C. 37. g. 11.]

[Another edition.] A dyalogue of syr Thomas More . . . Newly oversene by the sayd syr T. More. [W. Rastell: London], 1530. Fol. The date in the colophon is 1531. [475. c. 1. (1.) and G. 2425.]

Tyndale, William. An answere unto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge [on the worship of image], etc. [London, 1530.] 8vo. [C. 37. a. 26.]

An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, The Supper of the Lord, etc. Edited for the Parker Society by the Rev. H. Walter. Cambridge, 1850. 8vo. [R. Ac. 2077/30.]

The cōfutacyon of Tyndales answere made by syr T. M. [Books 1–3.] W. Rastell: London, 1532. Fol. [G. 12078.]

The second parte of the cōfutacion of Tyndals answere In whyche is also confuted the chyrche that Tyndale devyseth. And the chyrche also that frere Barns deuyseth. W. Rastell: London, 1533. Fol. [475. c. 1 (2.).]

The debellacyon of Salem and Bizance. 2pt. W. Rastell: [London], 1533. 8vo. [C. 21. b. 41.]

The apologye of syr T. More knyght. W. Rastell [London]: 1533. 4to. [G. 2286.]

Frith, J. A disputacion of Purgatorye . . . whiche . . . answereth unto Sir Thomas More, which laboureth to prove purgatorye by scripture, etc. [London (?) 1533 (?).] 16mo. [C. 12. b. 9 (1.).]

A boke made by J. F., prisoner in the tower of London, answeringe unto M mores lettur which he wrote agenst the first litle treatyse that J. F. made concerninge the sacramente, &c. Monster, 1533. 8vo. [C. 12. b. 9 (3.).]

Crowley, Robert. The supper of the Lorde After the true meanyng of the Sixte of John and the xi. of the fyrst Epistle to the Corhinthiās . . . And incidently . . . is cōfuted the letter of master More against John Fryth. [By W. Tyndale. Edited by R. Crowley.] [London?], 1533. 8vo. [1020. c. 36.]

[Syr Thomas More's answere tho the fyrste parte of the poysoned booke, which a namelesse heretyke [W. Tyndale], hath named the Souper of the Lorde]. Begin. [sig. Aa. ii. recto:] The preface. Syr T. More Knyght to the chrysten reader. Wolde god good christen readers as I have often sayde, etc. [W. Rastel: Fletestreet, London,] 1534. 8vo. [3932. aa. 20.]

Joye, George. The Subuersiō of Moris false foundacion: where upon he sweteth to set faste and shoue under his shameles shoris, to underproppe the popis chirche, etc. Emdon, 1534. 8vo. [C. 53. aa. 3.]

The chronicle of Jhon Hardyng . . . Londini ex officina Richardi Graftoni. Mense Ianuarii. M.D.xliii. [C. 30. e. 9.]

(Ff. xxxi.–cvii. of the "continuacion" contain in a mangled form the lives of Edward V. and Richard III. attributed to More.)

The Vnion of the two noble and illustrate families of Lancastre & Yorke . . . 1548. [9512. f. 9.]

(Contains the lives of Edward V. and Richard III. as in Hardyng, above.)

The Historie of the Pittiful Life and unfortunate death of Edward the fifth and the then Duke of Yorke his brother ; with the troublesome and tyrannical government of usurping Richard the third, and his miserable end. London, 1641. 12mo. [1199. a. 2 (1.).]

The Lives of King Edward V. and Richard III. . . . Translated from the Latin original. Vol. I. A Complete History of England. London, 1706. Fol. [2082. f.]

The History of the reigns of Edward V. and Richard III. Written in part by Sir T. Moor, and finished from the Chronicles of Hall and Hollinshead, with notes and additions, by the editor of the *Historical Magazine*. (Issued with vol. 3 of the *Historical Magazine*.) London, 1789. 8vo. [PP. 5433. k.]

The History of King Richard the Third . . . New edition. [Edited by S. W. Singer.] London, 1821. 8vo. [1199. d. 2.]

The Life and Reign of Edward V. and Richard III., Kings of England. *Kennet, W.*, Britain under Trojan, Roman, Saxon Rule. London, 1878. 8vo. [12269. df. 8.]

More's History of King Richard III., edited . . . by J. R. Lumby. . . . Cambridge, 1883. 8vo. Pitt Press Series. [2322. b. 30.]

A dialoge of comfort against tribulacion, made by Syr Thomas More Knyght, and set foorth by the name of an Hũgariẽ, not before this time imprinted. in ædibus Richardi Totteli : Londini, 1553. 4to. [C. 53. b. 13.]

A Dialogue of Cumfort against Tribulation, made by . . . Sir T. More . . . which he wrote in the Tower of London an. 1534 ; . . . Now newly set foorth, with many places restored and corrected, etc. [Edited by J. Fowler.] Apud J. Foulerum : Antverpiæ, 1573. 8vo. [222. a. 28.]

[Another edition.] London, 1847. 8vo. Part of the English Catholic Library. Vol. 3. [1351. h. 14.]

The Boke of the fayre Gentylwoman, that no man shulde put his truste, or confydence in : that is to say, Lady Fortune, etc. [By Tho. Mo., *i.e.* Sir Thomas More.] (1540.) [Not in B. M. Unique copy at Lambeth.]

Reprinted in Fugitive Tracts, written in verses which illustrate the Condition of Religious and Political Feeling in England. First Series, 1493–1600. [London], 1875. 4to. [11630. ee. 14.]

Witty Apopthegms delivered at severall times, and upon severall occasions, by King James, King Charls, . . . and Sir Thomas Moore. London, 1658. 12mo. [E. 1892 (1).]

Narrative of a strange religious frenzy at Coventry, in an original letter from Sir T. M. Nichols, J. Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, Vol. 4. London, 1780. 4to. [2061. c.]

The Four Last Things. Edited by D. O'Connor. London, 1903. 16mo. [4400. f. 31.]

Miscellaneous.

The Life and Character of Jane Shore, collected from our best historians, chiefly from the writings of Sir Thomas More. London, 1714. 8vo. [T. 1092 (3.).]

Philonomos (*pseud.*). The right method of maintaining security in person and property to all the subjects of Great Britain. . . . To which is added, The Opinion of Sir Thomas More. London, 1751. 8vo. [T. 1086 (7).]

The Liberty of the Subject and Dignity of the Crown. . . . supported by the Opinion of a Lord High Chancellor of England, etc. London, [1780?]. 8vo. [T. 1119 (12.).]

Letters written by Sir T. More concerning the education of his family, to Mr. Gunnel, their domestic tutor. in Hints on Education. London, 1821. 8vo. [1031. f. 19 (3.).]

The unfortunate Royal Mistresses Rosamond Clifford and Jane Shore . . . With . . . Memoirs by Sir Thomas More. . . . London, [1825 (?).] 8vo. [615. c. 1.]

Six Letters. The Lady's Monitor; selected from the writings of Lady Jane Grey . . . Sir Thomas More, etc. London, 1828. 8vo. [1116. a. 5 (2.).]

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